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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF UNIVERSITY GOALS AND GOVERNANCE IN NORTH AMERICA AND IRAN

by

©

MASOUD SADIGHIAN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF UNIVERSITY GOALS AND GOVERNANCE IN NORTH AMERICA AND IRAN submitted by MASOUD SADIGHIAN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This study, which was based primarily on a review of the literature on university goals and governance in North America, was designed to present a comparative analysis of governance systems in North America and Iran. The analysis explored the possibility of proposing an expansion of goals and improvements in the structure of Iranian universities through the identification and examination of North American university practices which appear to be compatible with the Iranian social context.

The large and expanding body of literature that deals, directly or indirectly, with goals, administration, and governance of universities was reviewed and through critical analysis a general synthesis was derived. The research strategy for this report consisted of a combination of historical and sociological approaches to comparative educational study in conjunction with selective problem identification.

A number of conclusions emerged from this study. The first was that there are practices in North American universities which deserve attention and merit examination for the possible adaptation in Iran. A second conclusion was that in spite of the need and feasibility of applying North American university practices to Iranian social context, adapting these practices does not mean that their philosophy can also be imported or transplanted to Iran without any change. Thirdly, it was concluded that, generally, universities in Iran do not assume an active role which would encourage the possibility of

introducing change in their goals and governance.

One recommendation which emerged from the study was that a commission on higher education should be formed to review the goals and governance of Iranian universities. It was also recommended that the possible responses of Iranian universities should include such radical, yet desirable, changes as explicating utilitarian goals, reducing campus politicization and emphasizing cooperative leadership, and increasing faculty and student involvement.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is general agreement that universities have played a major role in advancing the civilization of the world in general and in developing the technological and cultural aspects of the western industrialized societies in particular. But in spite of these significant contributions, universities have always been under pressure. The Medieval university, with its master and student structure; the American Land-Grant college, with its unique task; and the modern university, with its multiple functions have all experienced periods of pressures. The source of these pressures can be classified into two categories: internal and external. External pressures come from church, government, business and industry, professional groups, donors and foundations, alumni, accreditation agencies, the general public and communication media. The sources of internal pressures are faculty, students, administrators, trustees and support staffs. In their long history universities faced these pressures one, two or three at a time and by resisting, adapting to or by-passing them, they have managed to survive.

From the early 1960's, universities have been confronted with a unique situation: they have been challenged by almost all of the internal and external groups. For the first time universities had to cope with many pressures at the same time. Governments desired more order and less cost, students asked for more relevance and participation, faculty fought for defending academic freedom, administrators wanted more coordination, and alumni sought more prestige; the list is endless. All of these conflicting demands led to the belief that there must be more intensive examination of how universities were actually operating. University governance became a focus of interest for students of various disciplines. Sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and students of administration started to look at the university; the result was numerous books, articles, reports and manuscripts which were added to the literature. At the same time, university self-studies were undertaken by many institutions in various countries.

In the process of analyzing the governance of universities with the intention of adapting them to new demands, different approaches have been employed by different countries. These variations have been in accordance with basic societal differences not only in each country but sometimes in each province within the same country. Despite these differences, it is recognized that universities, in general, today confront greater and more critical problems than ever before.

Central to these problems are the issues of goal setting and policy formulation in the universities. As is true for any social organization, the question of aims and goals is an important issue in governance. In universities, by and large, the main functions are described as teaching, research and service; however, implicit in these three broad category of goals are a substantial number of more specific functions. And it is the very nature of the process of setting these goals and their execution that makes the university into a battle ground for a power struggle with inevitable consequence of conflicting interests among participants. For example, it is evident that some participants would not agree that universities should be engaged in direct service to society. On the other hand, some would argue that one of the chief aims of universities is to get involved in direct services to the community and government through research establishments. These controversies concerning university purposes and goals, and the achievement of these goals, provides a dynamic situation in which trustees, faculty, administrators and students may play a significant role.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The main purpose of this study was to review the literature on university goals and governance in North America in order to present a comparative analysis of governance systems in North America and Iran. The intention of the study was to propose improvements in the structure of Iranian universities, through selective borrowing of role patterns in North American university structure which are compatible with Iranian social context.

The first specific objective was to review the development of universities and the evolution of their goals. The following questions guided the analysis:

1. What was the early history and evolution of universities in North America and Iran?

2. What have been the traditional goals of Iranian and North American universities?

    2.1 To what extent has emphasis been placed upon teaching, research, and community services?

    2.2 To what extent have other goals, such as socialization, been emphasized?

    2.3 What are the social and cultural causes for shifts in emphasis on goals?

    2.4 What are the present goals?

    2.5 What consensus, if any, is there in the literature on desirable goals for the university in North America?

The second objective was to analyze critically the roles of major groups in university governance in terms of the following questions:

3. What have been the traditional roles of trustees, administrators, faculty, and students in the governance of Iranian and North American universities?

4. What changes are taking place in roles of trustees, faculty, administrators, and students in Iranian and North American universities?

5. What consensus, if any, is there in the literature on desirable roles for trustees, administrators, faculty, and students in North American university governance?

The last objective of this study was to propose some governance structures which might be appropriate for Iranian universities in the future. The following questions guided the analysis which related to this objective:

6. What are some of the major social changes in Iranian society?

7. What are some of the major consequences of Iranian social revolution upon universities?

8. What possible applications are there in question number 2.5 and 5 to university governance in Iran?

9. To what extent is the adoption of some aspects of the North American university structure appropriate to Iranian universities?

10. What specific structural changes might be desirable in the governance of Iranian universities?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

In a developing country such as Iran which has an average economic growth of ten percent per year and rapid societal and educational change, universities will play a significant role in the future of the nation. Iran, with 2500 years of written history and a well established system of higher education, as early as the seventh century, has always had faith in universities. But faith alone is not enough these days. Having been established under the influence of French models of higher education, the system is now trying to move toward models which are current in North America.

The expectations of rapid growth in enrollment and more university involvement in society, combined with the dynamics of cultural change provide a unique opportunity for universities to consider major changes in every aspect of their organization. Yet, in spite of all these expectations and foresights, there is only limited evidence of research into the nature and governance of Iranian universities. Even what these few studies offer in the form of recommendations and proposed solutions are based largely upon imitating practices prevalent in other countries. This lack of consideration for the Iranian social context and Iranian culture makes these recommendations and proposals very difficult, if not impossible, to apply.

The present study attempted to give more adequate attention to cultural and social differences than did most previous studies. By comparing the governance of Iranian and North American universities with regards to their internal affairs, it was hoped that students of university governance would be stimulated to acquire a fresh insight into the universities in Iran. Hopefully, then, different and new questions will be asked and new approaches will be taken, and perhaps more relevant and realistic recommendations and proposals will be offered.

Secondly, the proposed study with its broad and general perspective provided some views of the internal aspects of university governance in North America. By gaining insight into and information about the issues in North American universities, university administrators might become better prepared to face university problems in Iran.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

For a study of this magnitude and nature, a study that covers almost all internal aspects of university governance from a practical point of view, library research was chosen as the most appropriate method. The present study was based on the review of the large and expanding body of literature that deals with the administration and governance of universities. This voluminous body of literature describes the past and present functioning of universities and offers meaningful insights into their governance. But to master this literature requires a careful selection of bits and pieces from numerous sources. Therefore, as an implicit purpose, this study began with the identification of those studies that appeared to be most promising in revealing how universities as a social organization could be understood.

The design of this study was based upon the partial use of historical and sociological approaches to comparative educational studies. A historical approach was used to search for historical causes of present issues in university goals and governance. But, since the present study is intended to be a base for reform in governance of Iranian universities, the present issues as reported in the literature are at least as important as those of the past. A direct analysis of traditional issues provided the ground for understanding why things were as they were, but not necessarily why things are as they are. To answer the latter, the sociological approach was used to complement the historical perspective. Through this approach the issues surrounding university goals and governance were seen not as a direct cause of the past, but rather in relation to other traditional and existing social, economic, political, and cultural factors. Therefore, a combination of both historical and sociological approaches in conjunction with selective problem identification provided the research strategy for the study.

The organization of each chapter of this study with the exception of Chapters I, VIII and IX, includes separate sections for North America and Iran. Also, each chapter follows a pattern of analysis along a past-present-future continuum. As for the content of this study, significant yet selective features of North American university goals and governance were identified under the heading of each chapter, and university literature was searched to find the appropriate studies for the analysis of these characteristics. The same pattern was followed for Iranian university goals and governance. Due to the lack of substantial, directly related, materials on Iranian universities, part of the analysis was based upon direct observation and experiences of this writer, and naturally subject to his value judgments.

A number of general bibliographies served as the point of departure for this study. An article by Hodgkinson (1971c), under the title: Campus governance--the amazing thing is that it works at all, includes an extensive bibliography which covers the period of 1965 to 1971. This provided the bases upon which the bibliography for the study was built. Hodgkinson's bibliography is divided into various categories. These are: "Research material on governance"; "Trustees: Theory, opinion and research"; "Research on faculty and governance"; "Statements of opinion on faculty and governance"; "Research on student protest having implications for governance"; "Policy recommendation on student participation"; "General articles on student participation in governance"; "Legal and political dimensions of governance"; "Major policy statements on campus governance"; "Compedia: Sources which bring together materials on various aspects of governance"; "Typical institutional governance statements"; and "General works on campus governance." Not all of these categories were employed, rather the title of each article, report, and book was assigned to the following topics:

- I. General materials on governance:
    - A. governance models,
    - B. aims and functions of the university.
- II. Students:
    - A. student protest,
    - B. student participation on governance.
- III. Faculty.
- IV. Administration:
    - A. presidents,
    - B. academic deans,
    - C. department chairmen.
- V. Trustees.

Another report by Harris (1971) under the title Governance of university: A selected bibliography, was also located. Most of the materials were the same as Hodgkinson's, which could be considered as an indication of the reliability of that bibliography. Yet, in case of differences, additions were made to the list.

The search continued and the list which was developed was compared with many bibliographies, such as: A.A.H.E. Bibliography on higher education (1972) by Kelsey; Selected issues in higher education: An annotated bibliography (1965) by Meeth; and The literature of higher education (1971) by Mayhew. Besides other materials from the list of publications of Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973), and references of the books were compared with the original bibliography and additions were made.

The initial bibliography was extensive enough to cover what the proposed study was intended to do, but the search continued and further additions were made during the course of the study. The final bibliography was different in both number of sources and type of sources from the initial one. Those materials which were not relevant were dropped, and the remainder were reassigned under the appropriate headings.

Unfortunately, because of the lack of substantial materials on Iranian universities, only a limited amount of material about the Iranian educational system, culture, history, and society could be located and examined.

LIMITATIONS

In spite of a careful search of the literature of "educational research," there were few directions as to the nature of "library research." Therefore, one of the limitations of the present research could be its arbitrary nature in designing the study. Though, this selectivity might prove to be an advantage for future students of university governance rather than being a limitation.

Secondly, a study of this nature, which brings together bits and pieces from a vast variety of writings, makes it difficult for any kind of generalization or projection into the future. Yet, attempts were made to visualize the characteristics of university governance which might prevail at some future time.

Finally, not all of the materials in the bibliography could be found in libraries of the University of Alberta. This necessitated major time and effort to locate some of these materials through the facilities of the Inter-Library Loan Service available in Cameron Library. Naturally, the chance of getting all of these materials in the course of the proposed study was limited.

DELIMITATION

This study was delimited to the discussion of roles of the students, faculty, trustees, and administrators (presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen), insofar as these roles were related to the issues which were identified during the course of the study. The roles of other major groups, such as alumni, the government, and the general public, and other issues which might have existed in university governance were beyond the scope of this study.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Societal interaction among nations and selective borrowing of various aspects of one culture by the other are increasingly becoming a matter of normal practice. The impressive success of universities in responding to the internal and external pressures for change in the dynamically advanced societies of North America has identified them as a potential source for borrowing by universities of developing countries which have faced, or may face, the same pressures. These pressures are more visible in the areas of the goals and governance of universities than in other areas. However, it should be noted that although these problems may seem to be the same, the responses will probably vary due to the social, cultural, economic, and political differences across countries.

Recent societal developments in Iran seem to indicate that her universities may gain from the past as well as the present experiences of North American universities; consequently, they may be able to avoid the same mistakes and to borrow those innovative ideas which are in accord with the social context of Iran. The first chapter of this report presents an overview of the comparative study which is aimed at achieving this outcome.

History is a source of information and experience which plays an important part in the educational and social life of all nations. Perhaps it is true that many educational problems have their roots and their causes in the past. Iran has a long and ancient history and many historical events have shaped its entire educational system. During three hundred years of development, North American universities have also been influenced by their physical and social environments. In order to obtain a better understanding of the functions and roles of universities today, Chapter II traces the origin and historical development of these academic institutions and describes their present characteristics. In Chapter III the traditional as well as the present goals of the universities in both cultures are reviewed and the proposed desirable aims for the North American campuses are analyzed. Attention is also given to the societal forces which have caused the university to shift its goal emphasis and to assume new functions.

The next four chapters deal with the major internal constituencies of the universities. These four chapters review the traditional as well as the present roles of boards of trustees, academic administrators, faculty, and students in the governance of North American and Iranian universities. They further identify some future trends and proposals for North American universities.

Since, from a theoretical and practical point of view, the involvement of the boards of trustees, presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen in the governance of the universities has been justified on a legal basis, Chapters IV and V are based on this fact and proceed to examine the powers and duties, characteristics, selection, organization, and leadership styles of administrative groups. On the other hand, the participation of faculty and students in the operation of these academic institutions is subject to debate; therefore, Chapters VI and VII explore the pros and cons of involvement and describe the means and ends of faculty and student participation.

The preceding chapters deal with the traditional and present conditions of Iranian universities while Chapter VIII describes the rapid societal changes which currently are taking place in Iran and analyzes the implications of these changes for the purpose and governance of these academic institutions. In addition, it outlines the possible reactions of the universities to these changes.

Finally, Chapter IX provides the summary of the entire study and, through critical analysis, identifies the possibilities of adopting some aspects of the North American university structure which seem to be appropriate for Iranian universities. Some specific structural changes for the governance of these academic institutions are also recommended as a conclusion to the study.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF UNIVERSITIES IN NORTH AMERICA AND IRAN

In this chapter the historical development of universities in North America is traced from the colonial period to the present time. The history of Iranian higher education dates back to the sixth century; this chapter gives attention to both the early as well as the modern periods.

EVOLUTION OF UNIVERSITIES IN NORTH AMERICA

Universities in Western Europe in general, and Oxford and Cambridge in particular, were the original models upon which the first colonial colleges were founded in North America. Although, the first college in Canada--Collège de Québec--was established by French settlers, it was the British influence and American examples which gave rise to the university movement in Canada.. Hamilton (1970) stated that,

> The origin, academic customs, and numerous traditions of modern Canadian universities may be traced to these (Oxford and Cambridge) and other universities in medieval Europe. Higher education in the New World has drawn heavily on the legacies of scholarship and academic freedom fostered at Oxford and Cambridge (p. 25).

Therefore, for purposes of this analysis, the assumption is that North American university development was highly similar in Canada and the United States with the exception that the rate of progress in Canada was much slower than in the United States. This assumption is supported by Prentice (1970). He believes:

> Canadians have been influenced by many of the same ideas and practices in education known or observed in Europe. In addition, communications between the United States and Canada have always been considerable and the impact of American experience on Canadian educators and thinkers have been profound. It is perhaps to state the obvious to remark that Canada's educational history has been different because much of her development occurred later and more slowly. . . . The dilemma in Canadian education has often been seen, whether rightly or wrongly, in terms of whether to opt in or opt out of the American Utopia (p. 66).

British Influence

The influence of the Oxford and Cambridge universities can be traced in statements of Harvard's founders as well:

> . . . that the earliest Harvard College statutes were taken directly from the Elizabethan statutes of the University of Cambridge; that the phrase pro modo Academiarum in Anglia . . . is to be found in the first Harvard degree formula; that early Harvard, like Elizabethan Cambridge, welcomed "fellow commoners" as well as serious degree students, "gentlemen" who paid double tuition for the privilege of residing in the college and dining with the fellows; that even the names of the four college classes--freshmen, sophmore, junior sophister, and senior sophister--were borrowed directly from England (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968, p. 3).

These and other characteristics of Oxford-Cambridge model gained wide acceptance when Harvard became a model for all the early colleges of the colonial period in North America.

Eventually, the founders of these colleges realized that unconditional transplanting of Oxford and Cambridge models might not work entirely in the unique geographic and social conditions of their own homeland. Some of these conditions, such as size of the colony and the heterogeneous nature of its population, were important factors for later development of higher education in North America. Thus

Tewksbury (1932) wrote:

> The frontier conditions under which Harvard, the earliest of American colleges, was founded were reproduced on each successive line of settlement across the continent. In the course of westward expansion of the American people, as the forces of the frontier life gained a cumulative power, a distinctive American institution was evolved, an educational institution shaped and adapted to the peculiar needs of an advancing people. In this process of continuous remaking on the frontiers of American life, the American college came to depart radically from its European antecedents, and to acquire characteristics and functions which made it truly an indigenous institution (p. 2).

Hofstadter (1955) states three unique characteristics of the colonial colleges: denominational sponsorship combined with some state supervision, the absence of professional or advanced faculties, and a pattern of lay government by boards of non-professional, non-resident trustees. In general, there were and still are, major differences between European and North American systems in the type of control, nature of curriculum, standards of admission and selection, and finally in ideals and goals.

In the absence of a centralized system of control and the presence of numerous religious denominations and sects, the number of colleges expanded rapidly. As Barnard (1856) described:

> Nearly all our colleges are, furthermore, the creations of the different religious denominations which divide our people. . . . It is this which has led to the great multiplication of collegiate institutions in our country, and which is daily adding to their number (p. 176).

Also, the lack of class and social distinctions and the absence of an established culture provided ample opportunity for the founding of more colleges for more people and an unfortunate situation of lowering the academic standards, each respectively. In spite of the fact that some of these colleges failed to survive, at the time of the Civil War in 1861, there were 182 established permanent colleges in the United States (Tewksbury, 1932).

Among these were 21 state universities. The state universities, however, were slow to develop and like the new colleges, they often failed to live up to their founder's expectations. Among many, two basic factors influenced the creation of these state universities. First, the democratic impulses and aspirations of North Americans and second, the European conception of state education. Brubacher and Rudy (1968), however, pointed to other factors:

> The growth of universities in America was brought about by many factors--the rationalism and empiricism of the enlightenment, the impact of the American and French revolutions, the influence of the resurgent German universities of the nineteenth century, and the utilitarian need for incorporating new fields of knowledge such as science and modern languages into the curriculum to serve the requirements of an expanding society. When most of the older collegiate foundations failed to respond adequately to these demands, initiative passed into the hands of those who planned to organize, or who were actually organizing, foundations called universities (p. 143).

The new trend which arose in conjunction with the new social and political atmospheres of the day did not last too long; critics of state university movements became eminent forces for disclosure of these institutions. However, the state university movement carried its destined route to success despite the renewed sentiment towards church-controlled colleges. While the Eastern area had the continuous support of an active minority, the support of national government through land grants encouraged the establishment of state universities in the Western area (Foerster, 1937).

In founding of state universities the colonists followed the English pattern of favoring church control over their higher learning institutions; the state was not considered to be primarily responsible for higher education. It was only later in the colonial period that the growth of secular sentiment and French ideals fostered the theory of state control over higher education. Even then, state universities had to face the criticisms and rivalries of church and it was only after the Civil War period that the American people began to accept the idea of state control over higher education.

Not all of the state universities before the Civil War period should be considered as real universities. As Pierson (1950) pointed out: "In America, the name 'university' has sometimes been claimed by institutions whose advanced program of instruction and research has remained little more than a noble aspiration (p. 60)." Yet, some of them were "real" universities, such as the University of Virginia which is seen by some writers to be the first of a kind.

> The university which Thomas Jefferson established at Charlottesville in Virginia was America's first real state university. It is an authentic example of this type for a number of reasons. First of all, it aimed from the beginning to give more advanced instruction than the existing colleges, to permit students to specialize and to enjoy the privileges of election. Its course of study when it opened for instruction in 1825 was much broader than that which was customary at the time (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968, p. 147).

After the Civil War the university movement attained its real momentum. Several factors were essentially responsible for this development including the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 in the United States which was the most important action of the federal government in higher education in nineteenth century America. Although the result following the passage of the Act in 1862 was not satisfactory, by 1890 it reached to its full potential for providing financial help to higher education. As Brubacher and Rudy (1968) noted:

> The most significant growth of state universities came where the land-grant funds were added to an existing state university endowment. . . . The Morrill Act grants had the least favorable effect where they were divided up among a number of colleges or used to create a new and separate institution which duplicated in many ways the work of an existing state university (p. 159).

Furthermore, as a result of the increasing specialization in many aspects of life, Americans for the first time demanded a broad, all-purpose training which best could be offered by state universities. A third factor was the rapid expansion of American high schools and their graduates who sought, in growing numbers admission, also, supported the development of state universities.

As the state universities grew and became more firmly established, their main functions--at least in the minds of the American public--were expressed through all-purpose curriculum and service to the community; furthermore, it became accepted that government was responsible for maintaining free higher education for the public. This reflects the two most important foreign influences upon the development of North American universities: French enlightenment and German scholarship. Hicks (1934) believed that state universities can be credited with some important achievements since 1865. State universities helped to raise the standards of literate leadership; they up-graded and accredited the standards of high school work; they helped the coeducational movement, university extension, and direct service to the community; they experienced the elective system; and finally, they adapted themselves to the influence of the German university. James Bryce (1889) commented on American state universities in this way:

> It is the glory of the American universities as of those of Scotland and Germany, to be freely accessible to all classes of people (p. 550). While the German universities have been popular but not free, while the English universities have been free but not popular, the American universities have been both free and popular. . . . Accordingly, while a European observer is struck by their inequalities and by the crudeness of many among them, he is also struck by the life, the spirit, the sense of progress, which pervade them (p. 567).

German Influence

German universities had a considerable influence upon the development of North American universities. In the German university system, the major emphasis was on scientific research and search for the truth. Therefore, in the German ideal definition, the university was a place where freedom of learning and freedom of teaching prevailed; this meant that students should be free to choose whatever courses they like and professors should be free to investigate any and all kinds of problems (Farmer, 1950). There was a mixed reaction to the growing German university philosophy and its application to North American universities. Nevertheless, as Brubacher and Rudy (1968) point out: "The net result was that a German-style graduate school had to be built in America upon the foundation of traditional English-style college (p. 199)." In the same North American university the graduate schools of arts and sciences were combined with various technical institutes which Flexner (1968) commented upon as an "astonishing medly of excellence and triviality (p. 181)." Acceptance of "English-style" colleges became part of university development and ways were adopted to ease the impact of this unification. One proposal was to organize them quite independent of each other. Another proposal, which was followed by Harvard (Herbert, 1962), was to integrate college methods and German graduate style in the university. Harvard in 1890 took action to organize the undergraduate and graduate faculties into a single faculty of arts and sciences.

Present Characteristics of North American Universities

Over three hundred years of development in higher education in general and universities in particular reveals some unique and important characteristics of North American universities. As Brubacher and Rudy (1968) pointed out, "American higher education as we know it today represents the end product of a long period of interaction between the Western European university heritage and the native American physical and social environment (p. 390)."

First, as a result of North American belief in democracy, more and more people have been able to benefit from acquiring education in colleges and universities. Yet, the argument goes on as to whether all of these students really belong in the university. Second, the heterogeneous nature of the student body and their various demands for subjects other than the traditional university curriculum have been served through comprehensive and all-purpose colleges and universities. This is a "philosophy" as Conant (1946) pointed out, "moving toward the social equality of all useful labor (p. 42)." Third, unlike the British university concept of training an elite group or the German university concept of scholarly research, the North American universities developed the idea of service to the society. Thus, the universities became involved, very quickly, in serving the needs of the people, and extension programs hold a permanent place in almost every university.

Fourth, although the fact remains that North American universities have developed out of the British model, it is obvious that they became diversified and varied when faced with size, competitive denominations, and absence of centralized power (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968). Corporate board control is the fifth characteristic of North American universities; whether private or public, universities have been controlled by non-resident lay boards and their chief executive officer, the president. Finally, the increasing influence on informal aspects of university life, such as extra-curricular activites, became a matter of normal business of North American universities. The unique characteristic of this contribution of North American universities is the scope and size of these extra-curricular activities rather than its originality. Therefore, to organize these activities even the informal aspect of university life became formalized.

EVOLUTION OF UNIVERSITIES IN IRAN

The history of Iran can be traced back more than three thousand years, with approximately 2500 years of recorded history. During the course of her history Iran has been invaded many times, and the welcome or unwelcome invaders left their mark on her social, cultural, and religious heritage. However, she has always maintained her national and political integrity. Thus, Browne (1910) wrote:

> Again and again Persia has been apparently submerged by Greeks, Parthians, Arabs, Mongols, Turks, and Afghans; again and again she has been broken up into petty states ruled by tribal chiefs; and yet she has hitherto always re-emerged as a distinct nation with peculiar and well marked idiosyncrasies (p. 13).

The strategic location of Iran in Asia attracted many hostilities in various periods from the west by Greeks and Arabs; from the east by Turks and Mongols; from the south by the British; and from the north by the Russians, to mention only some. Nevertheless, the constant contact with other civilizations became an important, and almost unique, factor in influencing the way of life and thought and, consequently, the educational system of Iran. In this long process of learning, Iranians were never absorbed by others. Rather, they learned what they saw in other cultures and developed it toward their needs, culture, and desires. So, in Jackson's words (1909), "The artistic patterns of China were developed into the famous Persian miniatures (p. 27)."

Cultural Influence

In writing about the development of Iranian universities, some mention must be made of the ancient cultural aspects of Iran. Any discussion of Iranian universities without at least brief reference to the past would be vacuous. The educational system of Iran has changed its shape and form many times in the course of its history. During this period of evolution, at least three main cultural forces influenced its fundamental assumptions, yet tradition has been, and is, the most important one. Ancient culture was the first of these forces dominating from the beginning of Iranian history to the emergence of Islam. Islamic culture was the second influential force and, finally, Western culture which has been influential, and is presently influential, in every aspect of Iranian society.

The ancient culture consists of a period of approximately fifteen centuries. From the beginning, the establishment of the great Persian Empire, the emergence of Zoroastra's faith, and the introduction of Alexander's Hellenistic Culture, combined together to reshape the cultural and educational system of Iran (Rogers, 1929). The following seem to be some of the important characteristics of this period:

1. Society had three special classes: the nobility, the priests, and the peasants. Educational practices seemed to be based upon social status in the hierarchy of social class; formal education was provided for priests as a privileged right in the palaces and temples (Olmstead, 1959). Other youth training and education was informal and mainly the responsibility of the family.
2. While ancient Zoroastrianism had tremendous effects on education through its emphasis on learning and search for truth, the introduction of Alexander's Hellenistic philosophy

(scholastic work) brought a new dimension to Iranian education (Sir Sykes, 1922).

3. Ancient Iranian dynasties emphasized the power of state, and every aspect of people's life including education depended on state control and initiation.

Richard Frye (1953) believes this is the main historical reason why education at all levels has been centralized and controlled by the state up to the present time.

The Islamic culture was introduced into Iran by the appearance of Islam in the seventh century. Although comparatively the real Arab domination did not last too long and was challenged and defeated by the people of Iran, Islam religion and its consequent cultural and social change remained and was enough to influence the form, shape and philosophy of the educational system. Arabs themselves impressed with the social and cultural life of Iran brought two types of schools, namely, primary school "Maktabs" and the secondary schools "Madressah" (Sadig, 1956).

Perhaps the most important factor which the Arabs introduced into Iranian culture and thought was the Islamic concept of "tagdir". Richard Gable (1959) noted this phenomenon:

> The Islamic concept of 'tagdir' (fate) affects the way an Iranian approaches the problems of government and administration. Conditions are pretty much accepted as they are because they cannot be changed. The forces which man faces in life are felt to be larger than he can cope with so he accepts them with a stoical compassion. He does not accept the responsibility for his own conditions. Moreover, he accepts no responsibility for his fellow man. Consequently, large areas of man's life are regarded as a matter of fate, beyond control or direction (p. 413).

This passive attitude towards life in general was reinforced by the Mongol attacks which caused almost complete destruction in Iran. The scope of the Mongol attack and its destructive outcome is illustrated by Sir Wilson's (1932) comments:

> This dreadful succession swept over the country like a bloody foam, leaving the fairest cities a wilderness of rubbish and rotting corpses. Their speed, their fury and their mastery of every branch of warfare, made resistance not only futile but impossible. Their mark was a series of massacres and devastations, which not only destroyed every kind of public monument with invaluable contents, works of art and books, but blotted out whole cities. The destruction of human life was equally appalling; the accumulated knowledge and traditions of ages were obliterated (p. 31).

The impact of the Mongol attack on Iranians was in such a magnitude that even not long ago this general attitude of passiveness persisted and to some extent still can be seen in day-to-day affairs of Iranian people. As one foreign observer explains, and in somewhat exaggerated terms:

> Perhaps most depressing for foreign onlookers is the resistance to progress implicit in the basic orientalism of Iran: the smiling inefficiency, the gracious ineptitude, the inclination to wait until tomorrow, the plain bureaucratic incompetence even in pepped-up officers like the Plan Organization. Farda meaning "manana" in all its richness and languor is one of the biggest words in the Persian lexicon (Lehrman, 1959, p. 16).

The glorious past was destroyed by Arabs and as soon as the people of Iran started to give a new birth to their culture, the Mongols attacked. This time nothing remained safe; consequently, a feeling of resignation and passiveness crept into Iranian culture. Hostile toward invaders and not motivated to rebuild their own culture, education in Iran became a matter of imitation of other scholars, mostly Greeks and Arabs (Sadig, 1956). Obedience became the normal process of learning and tutorial systems of education became a rule of thumb.

It was under the initiation of Safavid Dynasty (1502 A.D.) that Iranian national rebirth started. Eventually, the strategic geographical position of Iran and its untouched numerous resources made this country a focus of interest for the more industrialized European countries. Some factors which are most responsible, in this period, for the appearance of Western culture could be identified as:

1. The establishment of political relationships with European countries in general, and France and England in particular.
2. The interest of European countries in the vast and untouched natural resources of Iran.
3. The experience of returning students who were sent to Europe by the government for advanced education.
4. The establishment of many missionary schools by various foreign denominational authorities throughout Iran (Wilber, 1963).

Therefore, by the beginning of the modern period in the history of Iran (1921), the educational system already had numerous signs of Western culture, especially French culture. In addition to the centralization of the educational system, modern Iranian education is an imitation and duplication of the French model, having three levels--elementary, secondary, and higher education. Some Iranians, like Armajani (1958), were dissatisfied with and highly critical of the French model:

> It is unfortunate that we did not show discrimination in the choice of our model. In my opinion one of the most disastrous decisions in our modern history has been the adopting of the French system of education. This system has accentuated our tendency toward rugged individualism and the almost utter disregard of the social good. . . . The unfortunate outcome is that our children, like the French, walk to school as individuals, recite in class as individuals, and come home as individuals; and there is hardly anything in the curriculum to show them that there are others around. . . . There is nothing in our education to teach us the art of cooperation which is the essence of democracy (p. 4).

Perhaps the chief benefit of contact with the West is that, in the long history of Iran, a long range plan for education was designed and executed in 1921. Following the Westernization of the educational system, progress started toward the establishment of higher education institutions, long before the other two levels. The reason could be found in the personnel needs of the government for many new positions created in its progressive modernization plans. Furthermore, there was an urgent consideration for restructuring and modernizing the Iranian Army.

The Origin of Universities

The university tradition in Iran can be traced back to the sixth century.

> The university tradition has always been strong in Iran. As early as the sixth century, Kjosro Nushirwan, the just (the illustrious king of the Sassanian Empire), founded a university for philosophy and medicine of Jundi-Shahpur in the Persian province of Khuzistan. . . . It was at this university that Greek philosophers, expelled from their native land by the intolerance of the Emperor Justinian, found a haven of refuge (Iran Today, 1958, p. 38).

It was this university which trained so many scholars from India, Greece and Arabia. Thus, Nakosteen (1964) pointed out that, "It was perhaps through Persia that the Greeks had learned their first lessons in science and philosophy (p. 20)." As the first university in the Persian Empire, Jundi-Shahpur enjoyed high prestige and popular support not only from the state but also from Iran's neighbors. Jundi-Shahpur university survived the Arab's attack and continued its excellent performance in attracting scholars and collecting books from the intellectual centres of the world. Translation of these books into Arabic was one of the most important functions of this university. Later, it became a medical centre and centuries later a model for establishing many medical centres in the Empire of Islam. As a consequence of the opening of other colleges and centres of learning, like Nazamieh Baghdad, (military school of Baghdad), Jundi-Shahpur lost its status and academic prestige, and after 500 years of contribution to Iran and knowledge of the world it disappeared in the writings of historians.

Between the fall of Jundi-Shahpur university in the eleventh century and the establishment of the first modern college in Iran in 1851, through state initiative a number of institutions and colleges were founded.

> In ancient Persia . . . higher learning was encouraged, and those educated were drafted to serve as administrators, statesmen, and advisers to those who ruled. Almost every dynasty sponsored some institution of higher learning and brought together the most eminent poets and scholars of the empire (Smith and others, 1971, p. 165).

Nazam-Al-Molk, who was Prime Minister for the Seljug sultans--one of Iranian dynasties--opened the first military school in Baghdad in 1041. Like Jundi-Shahpur which was a model for other medical centres in the Islamic Empire, many institutions emerged on the basis of the foundation of the Baghdad Military School, such as: Naishpur Military School, Ray Military School, Bassreh Military School, Isfahan Military School, and four more which were located in various parts of the Empire (Sadeghy, 1972). In addition to these military schools, denominational colleges sprang up all over the Eastern Islamic countries. More than 24 of these colleges were founded in Iran (Nakosteen, 1964). Despite their weaknesses, these colleges provided a kind of uniform function and standardized schooling. In addition, by educating the people through facilities of these colleges, Nazam-Al-Molk succeeded in fostering the modernization of Iran on one hand and in protecting Iran on the other hand from hostile invaders. Nevertheless, these colleges--military and denominational--were political as well as educational; later they placed increasing emphasis on their functions as institutions for the study of religion.

Modernization of Higher Education

From 1810 systematic efforts were made toward modernization of Iranian higher education. The first group of students left Iran for England in 1810 to study medicine. Five students were chosen as the second group and left for England in 1818 to study science, and another group of five was sent to France in 1844. It was only in 1861 that a larger group of graduates from Dar-Al-Fanun University were considered for studying in France (Arasteh, 1963a).

Meanwhile, the opening of French and American missionary schools and colleges increased the impact of Western educational influence. Gradually in addition to French and American missionary schools and colleges, British, German, and Russian missionaires opened their own schools. As the missionary schools expanded both in number and enrollment, the foreign influence spread not only in Iranian educational systems but in the social and political system of the country as well. In order to bring these widespread efforts under more control, "Beginning in 1935, all foreign schools were closed by the process of forbidding their attendance by Iranians . . . (Groseclose, 1947, p. 4)."

> During the nineteenth century the country began to adopt Western-style curricula and teaching methods, but at first only in the field of higher education. The government's need for trained high-level administrators, officials, and military officers led to the founding in 1851 of Dar-Al-Funun, a polytechnic college staffed largely by Austrian professors (Smith and others, 1971, p. 165).

Although Dar-Al-Funun emerged as an imitation of the French university model, Austrian professors were hired as faculty. This probably resulted because of political manoeuvres and pressures behind the scene from competing European countries. In any event, Dar-Al-Funun university opened its doors to its first 30 students in 1851. Within a few years 105 students were enrolled in the following fields:

Artillery, Infantry, and Cavalry	61
Engineering and Mining	12
Medicine	20
Chemistry and Pharmacy	7
Minerology	5
Total	105

(Arasteh, 1963b, p. 328).

In 1880 the Faculty of Medicine was separated from the university, and gradually Dar-Al-Funun evolved into a modern high school which is still in operation in Tehran.

Between the time of the foundation of Dar-Al-Funun and the University of Tehran, the same philosophy which led to the foundation of Dar-Al-Funun forced other Iranian ministries to establish their own colleges. Thus, in 1884 and 1886 two Military Colleges were founded in Tehran and Isfahan, respectively. These efforts were continued during the early twentieth century:

> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs opened its School of Political Science in 1901; the Ministry of Economy, its College of Agriculture in 1902; the Ministry of Education, its School of Fine Arts in 1911 and its Boy's Normal School in 1918; and the Ministry of Justice, its School of Law in 1921. Other ministries and government agencies, such as the Ministry of Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs and the National Bank of Iran (Bank Melli Iran), established semiprofessional institutes for the technical training of their employees (Smith and others, 1971, p. 165).

The opening of Tehran University in 1934 through unification of the Teachers' College, the Medical School, the School of Law and Political Science, and the Technical School, formed a foundation for a permanent modernized system of higher education (Haas, 1946). In the academic year 1969-1970 there were 60 public and 13 private colleges operating in Iran (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 1970). In addition, there were eight universities, three of them located in Tehran. In general, Iranian universities can be divided into two categories: public and semi-public or private. The main difference between public and private universities is not the nature of financial support, since all of the Iranian universities are funded by the government, but the nature of employment of their personnel. The former's employees are government civil servants, while the latter's employees are subject to private contracts.

SUMMARY

During the course of history, the educational system of Iran has been influenced by three main cultural forces: Ancient, Islamic, and Western. Education in the Ancient culture was based on Zoroastrian emphasis on learning and Alexander's Hellenistic philosophy of scholastic work. Jundi-Shahpur, the first institute of higher learning in Iran, was founded in this period. With the introduction of Islamic culture in the seventh century, a number of military as well as denominational colleges were established. Some of these colleges were still in operation when the first interaction between Iran and the West was initiated in the early sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, the primarily political contacts were expanded to the areas of cultural and social interactions.

During the same period, the first North American colleges were founded on European models in general and on Oxford and Cambridge in particular. Among many reasons, the religious, cultural, and physical factors of the day set the stage for the rapid expansion of higher learning institutions; by the time of the Civil War, there were 161 permanent colleges and 21 state universities.

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the rapid expansion of the university system in North America, whereas the first modern Iranian college, based on the French model, was not established until 1851. Apart from this college, which has never attained the status of a university, the rise of other colleges was limited to scattered efforts by various government ministries which opened their own colleges. In 1934 the first modern Iranian university emerged and the foundation for a permanent system of higher education was established. At present there are less than 100 Iranian institutes of higher learning including the eight universities.

In North America, however, through national government initiatives and the influence of German university philosophy in combination with the increased popularity of democratic ideals, the expansion of the universities was encouraged. Furthermore, university development after the Second World War was accelerated to the point where at present there are more than 3000 institutions of higher education in North America including 500 universities. Although the rate of growth has decreased significantly in recent years, North American universities continue to receive the attention of various segments of the society. Much of this interest is focused on the goals and the governance problems of these institutions.

CHAPTER III

UNIVERSITY GOALS IN NORTH AMERICA AND IRAN

The simple college which had teaching as its main function has changed radically, and today's university assumes diversified sets of goals. In fact, an ambiguity of purpose is one of the major characteristics of the present university and is sometimes used as the basis for distinguishing it from other social organizations. During the course of development, many societal factors have influenced the formation and implementation of university aims. This chapter traces the evolution of goals in the history of North American and Iranian universities and discusses some of the major social and cultural factors which have shifted the emphasis on these goals. Furthermore, the present functions of the university in both cultures and the future trends in the North American campuses are reviewed.

ORGANIZATION GOALS

Organizations play such an important role in our world that Etzioni (1964) states:

> Our society is an organizational society. We are born in organizations, educated by organizations, and most of us spend much of our lives working for organizations. We spend much of our leisure time paying, playing and praying in organizations. Most of us will die in an organization, and when the time comes for burial, the largest organization of all--the state--must grant official permission (p. 1).

Because organizations are so important, it is realistic to assume that if people get together to establish a social organization, they probably expect it to perform a function. Perhaps it is not so much out of a sense of togetherness or belongingness that people join organizations, but to do something; that is, to achieve a major goal. Togetherness and belongingness are secondary considerations in most organizations.

Although an organization serves a number of functions, it is also true that there is always one recognized and dominant goal which gives the organization its character. Thus, an army is built around the ideas of defense and attack; hospitals cure patients; business organizations make profit; labour unions protect labour from misuse by management; and prison is a punishment centre which keeps outlaws away from the rest of society. The presence of a dominant goal is no denial of the fact that armies can have educational functions as have the "illiteracy corps" in Iran; hospitals train medical students; labour unions perform recreational as well as educational functions; and prisons attempt to rehabilitate prisoners. As organizations grow and expand, other functions and goals tend to be added, sometimes to the point where the original goal is replaced; however, it is always one or a few goals which characterize their uniqueness (Jenks and Riesman, 1968). So much so that the name of an organization automatically suggests some unique goal(s) in the minds of people.

Universities as social organizations are no exception. They have been built around the idea that knowledge is good. So, their unique goal relates to knowledge, specifically the transmission of knowledge (teaching) and advancement of knowledge (research). During the course of university development other functions were added, such as the application of knowledge (direct service) to the community and a long list of others. Therefore, pragmatically it is logical for the discussion of university goals to start with what are commonly identified as their main functions: teaching, research and service.

Modern universities are large and complex organizations, and any discussion of their goals must also take into consideration their major constituencies, because individual participants might have different goals and different priorities in goal setting. To say that teaching, research and service are the main functions of universities is not enough since it leads to questions such as those which Gross and Gramsbch (1968) raised: "teaching what, doing research on what," providing service for whom, "to what extent, and for how long? (p. 3)." They believe that for analyzing university goals, not only must one ask participants within the university what they perceive the actual goals of the university to be and what they should be, but other activities which normally have been labeled "maintenance activites" should also be considered as goals. Naturally, since the perception of individual participants about university goals is not necessarily alike, goal setting and goal analysis become problematic.

In the light of the preceding discussion and for the purpose of the present study, in terms of university goals, a combination of both approaches of Bureaucratic (Weber, 1964; Stroup, 1966) and System Theory (Parsons, 1960) in contrast to Action Theory (Silverman, 1970; Pannu, 1973) was used. The main difference between these two approaches is that the Bureaucratic and System Theory tends to take organizational goals as given, while the Action Theory tends to view organizational goals as problematic and subject to the perception of the individual participant.

UNIVERSITY GOALS IN NORTH AMERICA

The North American colleges were founded on the assumption that they would meet the spiritual needs of the new land. The college movement before 1861 in North America can be identified with the rise and growth of religious denominations, and therefore, their goals reflected the interests and motives of a religious era. The pioneering groups who settled in North America brought with them the cultural heritage of England. This culture had, from the beginning, consisted of various religious dogmas and beliefs. Since the founders of the colonial colleges were the holders of these religious dogmas and beliefs, it was natural that the North American colleges became primarily concerned with the preservation and transmission of a religious culture for the training of the leaders of the church (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968). However, it should be recognized that the development of various denominations in the period before the Civil War not only represented a diversified religious orientation, but, it also showed the varying economic, social and racial differences between the North

American people. The denominational colleges served both as the preserver of religious culture on one hand and as a centre for various cultural patterns on the other hand (Wright, 1955).

Religious Emphasis

From the beginning the need for an educated ministry was recognized by various denominations, and to meet this need their colleges expanded. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that those colleges founded for purposes other than those associated with religion failed to survive. In the words of Tewksbury (1932): "In the founding of denominational colleges in America, the primary purpose in most cases was that of providing the churches on the frontier with a succession of learned and devoted ministers of the gospel (p. 78)." In the seventeenth century about half of the graduates of Harvard entered the ministry. But, gradually, the proportion of graduates who entered careers outside the ministry increased (Morison, 1935).

In addition to the goal of training religious leaders for various denominations, North American colleges were also involved in the training of youth for proper behavior. Samuel Morison (1936) pointed out that, "the American colleges were by no means egalitarian; they gave ample recognition to social distinctions (p. 452)." Yet North American institutions never had the rigid distinction between gentlemen and common people as their antecedents, Oxford and Cambridge. Nevertheless, colleges were highly engaged in training the students in good manners and fine behavior which derived from religious moralistic principles. It must also be recognized that other general aims such as the training of citizens, the pursuit of practical minded students, the advancement of knowledge, and the promotion of state interests, existed in the colleges founded before 1861, even though these had a secondary position.

On the whole, the prime function of the universities before the Civil War was teaching. The general structure of colleges and universities was organized around instruction, which even today is observable in academic institutions. James Perkins (1973) pointed out that the main structure of the universities before the nineteenth century, "in order to deal with a body of expanding knowledge, were a fixed meeting place, close connections between master and scholar, independence from church and state, and a minimal administrative apparatus that could support these needs (p. 6)."

After acceptance of the principle of the separation of church and state, the unitary aim of the colleges in the period before the Civil War which was characteristically religious-oriented in principle, gradually disappeared and more and more newer educational ideas became firmly established. Within the universities the status of different subjects was regarded as equal. Universities became so diversified that none of them could really be identified with any one academic philosophy. Laurence Veysey (1965) stated that except for a few institutions such as Yale, Princeton and Johns Hopkins, "on the usual campus could be found pockets of excitement over research, islands of devotion to culture, and segments of adherence to the aims of vocational service--all existing together (p. 58)." Even when universities became more stable, the identification of one university with a particular academic goal was subject to its administrative leadership, since the goals of the faculty were as diversified as was their subject matter.

Utilitarianism

The supporters of utilitarian approach for colleges and universities who were against the prevailing educational goals had existed long before 1861. Their voices were almost entirely from outside the academic community; they were mostly farmers, merchants and expansive planters (Handlin and Handlin, 1970). Although the claims for usefulness were more in terms of tokenism than actual practice. Arguments of utility and service to the state remained and gained high recognition after the Civil War (Thwing, 1906).

After the Civil War, colleges and universities moved rapidly in the direction of utilitarian reform as more and more of the utilitarian advocates occupied the presidencies of colleges and universities and faculty support accelerated the movement. The assumption was that life outside the campus was more real than that inside. The university years were considered as a part of the outside life and universities were regarded as a work-shop (Jordan, 1903).

Two concepts were introduced by the emergence of the utilitarian and reality perspectives: democracy and vocational goals. Democracy, expressed as the equality of all fields of learning, came to be a normal practice. To support the democratic approach, Wheeler (1901) pointed out that:

> A university is a place that rightfully knows no aristocracy as between studies, no aristocracy as between scientific truths, and no aristocracy as between persons. All that can make one man's study better than another's will be the devotion and clear-headedness with which he pursues it. All that can make one doctrine nobler than another will be its deeper reach toward a solid foundation in those eternal verities on which the world stands. . . . All that can make one student better than others is clearness of soul, clearness of purpose, clearness of thought, and clearness of life (p. 2).

The second trend was toward an emphasis on vocational goals as North American industries expanded and were faced with increasing demands for skilled manpower. Furthermore, the Federal Government in the United States, through the Morrill Act of 1862 and 1890 provided an ample opportunity for establishment of Land-Grant universities, which fostered the idea of utility. The utilitarian approach with its offspring effects became so eminent at the turn of the century that James (1905) defined the university as "a great civil service academy, preparing the young men and women of the state for the civil service of the state, the country, the municipality, and the township (p. 625)." The "Wisconsin idea," so important and famous in the evolution of American universities is an extreme reflection of the utilitarian approach which defined the university as a part of the state.

By the turn of the century the advocates of utilitarian goals for colleges and universities sought to up-date their definition of utility. As a result, the concept of "efficiency" was introduced into the literature of higher education (Draper, 1907). Through a union of the scientific and the practical goals, efficiency became the prime value of universities. Contrary to the early emphasis on individualism in the use of utility, more and more group work and cooperation came to be regarded as the major ideal in North American universities. Utility, however, after the turn of the century was merged with research as one of the major goals of the North American universities.

In general, before 1870 the purpose of colleges and universities was quite ambiguous. Universities were found for various reasons and sometimes differed with respect to resources, faculty, religious orientation, regional characteristics, and relationships to the government. Behind the explicit purposes of colleges and universities, they were also quite strongly involved in training some youth for life in a dynamic and rapidly growing industrialized environment which characterized the North American society of those days (Rudolph, 1962).

Scholarship

Scholarship has always been a function of the university. Closely related to its teaching goal and to pure research, scholarship has been, at least since the end of the nineteenth century, the main feature of the academic ideal. The introduction of German inspiration, in terms of knowledge for its own sake, re-emphasized the notion of pure research as one of the most important functions of universities. Pure research was fostered by Americans returning from Germany and also by the establishment of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 (Hofstadter and Hardy, 1952).

The ideal of Lehrfreiheit and Wissenschaft as the main aims of German academic life were important to North Americans. However, either North Americans misunderstood the German conception of the ideal university or they deliberately redefined these principles as to be applicable to their environment. It took more than two decades for practical-minded North Americans, especially in the United States, to combine the German ideal with utility in universities. As the guardian of culture, universities faced difficulty in accepting scientific research. The idea that knowledge can best be pursued through the use of reason and experiment put too much pressure on scholarship. The amateur nature of scholarship was to be replaced by the principle of specialization and by technical skills and detailed examination of every subject.

In 1870 scientific research held very low importance in the North American universities. Even after the opening of Johns Hopkins University, it took several years for universities to recognize research as one of their main goals. Research for the first time occupied its relative important place in academic organizations in 1890 (Ben-David and Zloczower, 1962). By the turn of the century it was possible to identify research as a firmly established function of North American universities. Nevertheless, it should be noted that research was only one concern of universities, and it would be a mistake to assume that research was emphasized over other functions of the university. It seems, however, that competition among teaching, utility, and research was quite strong within the individual university. Laurence Veysey (1965) pointed out:

> In two important ways . . . the growth of research produced basic changes in the nature of American higher education. Responsibility for the first change, a tendency toward ever increasing specialization of knowledge, it shared with the movement toward productivity. The second, the liberation of intellect for its own sake, resulted more exclusively from the climate of abstract investigation, although, intellect was eventually to owe a certain degree of its increasing acceptance to advocates of liberal culture (p. 142).

Useful Scholarship

Research came to be Americanized in principle and useful research, in terms of its practicality in life, led to the emergence of specialized units and departments within the universities. On the one hand independent graduate schools emerged at a relatively rapid pace, and on the other hand a German-type structure was added to the existing English undergraduate colleges (Storr, 1953). Thus, the combination of the two concepts of general culture and research became quite popular as universities followed the trend. The appearance of graduate and various professional schools and the multiplication of universities also made the process of education, against its loose arrangement of earlier times, more formalized.

The organizational structure of North American universities faced difficulty in accepting research as a new mission. While the new goal needed different kinds of structure, it was assumed that just like scholarly effort, which was the pursuit of individual faculties, the new function could be handled primarily with the old structure; that is, a teaching structure. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was realized that research was an end in itself and did not have much impact on teaching. Even today there are those who believe that teaching and research are so highly interconnected that the organizational structure of teaching should accommodate the research function of universities as well (Wolff, 1969).

On the other hand, Perkins (1973) argues that the missions of teaching and research are different; that is:

> In research, ideas become more important than the people, the laboratory and the library more important than the faculty meeting, and external funding more important than the internal budget allocation. The judgment of peers in one's field of specialization, rather than the progress of the students, becomes the critical measure of performance (p. 7).

As the size and cost of the libraries and laboratories grew, centralized management became inevitable. In addition, the demands of industry and the interests of government made research into a growing enterprise with increasing dimensions. So much so that new structures outside the formal university structure grew in the form of institutes, agencies, and councils. Even today the attempt to make provisions for both effective teaching and productive research in the North American university presents numerous problems.

Liberal Culture

The critics of utilitarian education, of scientific research, and of narrow specialization finally introduced the concept of "liberal culture," as the fourth aim of the North American colleges and universities (Veysey, 1965). Although the idea of "liberal culture" was an old one, the movement started late in the nineteenth century and, by the early years of the twentieth century, its supporters succeeded in placing it side by side with other main goals of academic institutions. Most of the universities began a reconsideration of their elective system which was so dominant in earlier times. Humanities emerged as strong disciplines within universities, and debates and arguments over the real functions of colleges and universities became wide-spread (Koos and Grawford, 1921). The role of the university as custodian of culture became popular. Religion was replaced by culture which gained the status of the prime guidance for thought. "The cultural citizen in command of scientific methods," was the cry of the time (Tappan, 1951, p. 58). Universities were expected to resist materialism and the business spirit and to produce educated leaders who could guide society. Therefore, training engineers, lawyers, or architects was a secondary function, unless the training included mastering intellectual and moral aspirations.

The role of universities as custodians of culture had its own critics. Many North Americans viewed the university as the supporter of gentility which was something unreal for the people. The opposition against aristocratic influences gained momentum on the grounds that this goal of colleges and universities is not native and in accord with the social context of North America (Veblen, 1957). Furthermore, the concept of culture as the ideal of the university was contrary to the tradition of utility and usefulness. Colleges and universities, to be able to survive, had made a case for utility. Of course, this is not by any means to say that universities had completely abandoned their role as custodian of culture. On the contrary, even after universities shifted their emphasis from culture to practical usefulness they still were highly engaged in training youth for leadership in the service of society.

Service to Society

From the time that colleges and universities began to emerge as institutions for higher learning in North America, their mission has been service to society. By preparing individual students for specific skills or professions, universities have served their environment ever since they were founded. As soon as a professional skill was accepted in the university, it was converted into a body of teaching and scholarship. This practice was regarded as the indirect service of the university to society.

Agriculture was the first major industry in American society which received the direct services of the university. Some writers, like Nisbet (1971), argue that even the agricultural assistance that state universities provided was through Agricultural Extension, which was sharply distinct from the department of agricultural science in the universities; that is, it was an indirect service. It is probably safe to assume that by the beginning of the Second World War universities were engaged, at an accelerating pace, in providing more and more direct services to North American society. This happened mostly because, through research grants, an immense amount of money poured into the universities, especially when the federal government and industries began to search for solutions to war-time problems through the universities. The result was significant enough to make universities up to the present time the "service station" of society. So much so that Nisbet (1971) made this comment:

> Few things, however, are more spectacular about the contemporary American university than its plunge into direct service to society; to agriculture, business, government--local, state and federal--social welfare, environmental control, middle-class leisure needs, and most recently, the whole, infinitely delicate and mine-strewn field of ethnic uplift--from Harlem across the country to Watts (p. 129).

Nevertheless, by the addition of the direct service function to the existing functions of the university, its organizational structure proved to be a serious handicap. If the traditional structure was largely unsuited to the research function, it was almost completely irrelevant to the new goal. James Perkins (1973) pointed out that universities were faced with two problems when they assumed more direct service to the society. First, the decentralized structure of the university was inadequate to meet the needs of the new function, given the fact that the service goal of the university requires the commitment of the whole institution. Secondly, universities cannot provide direct service to society and enjoy their autonomy, at the same time. Further, to illustrate this point Perkins argues that:

> With respect to the teaching process, society has come to accept the idea that it should provide funds but permit the university to determine how those funds are used. In general, the same is true of the public's attitude toward research. In both cases, the public does not feel confident to pass judgment, not only because the content is beyond its capacity but also because measurements of success are so difficult to establish. But with respect to public service, measurable, practical results are expected (p. 11).

By accepting the assumption of direct service to the society, universities have opened a new relationship with their environment which requires different structures from those existing for teaching and research.

Since the turn of the century very few innovative ideas have been introduced into universities and the structural pattern of the North American universities assumed, with a few exceptions, its recent form. The merging of goals rather than introduction of new aims came to be the central issue. Laurence Veysey (1965) wrote:

> As the structure of the American university rapidly took shape, the several ideas of academic purpose tended to lose their distinct outlines. They became lazier, and rhetoric slid more easily from one of them to another without the speakers' being conscious of uncongruity. As time passed no new ideas arose, clean-cut, to challenge the claims of the old ones; instead, such "newness" as there was toward 1910 came from the cross-fertilization of previous philosophies (p. 342).

The shifting orientation of universities from traditional religion to scientific knowledge, which began early in the twentieth century, was based upon faith in the ability of universities to combine the socializing function with scholarship. By 1930, as this belief declined mainly because of changes in the society, universities were no longer in a position to assume their role as an agency for socialization of students (Handlin and Handlin, 1970).

Unification and reconciliation of culture, utility, teaching, and research was the inevitable consequence of a long period of debates over academic goals. Recently, instead of forcing these goals to the extremes, universities started to look at the interrelationships among all of them. The function and goals of North American universities in the twentieth century are so diversified that any discussion of academic aims of the entire university system would be impossible, except in abstract statements of teaching, research and service. In general, the North American university became an agency for social change; it became a unique academic institution in the world in which all kinds of ambitions could find a place. Diversified and diffused goals are the normal organizational characteristic of the twentieth-century North American university. They produce scholarly research, high quality teaching, and more direct services to their internal constituencies and to the society at large.

After 1930 the rapid expansion of universities combined with an increasing rate of enrollment, the accelerated pace of industrialization, the growing rate of economic richness, and the tremendous changes in the moral and social behavior of the society, tended to widen the gap between academic and social reality. There were growing numbers of youth who had no important function other than attending colleges and universities on one hand; on the other hand, universities increasingly became staffed with faculty who were primarily concerned with specialization. Instead of being the custodians of general culture, universities became guardians of segments of all kinds of specialized knowledge (President's Commission, 1, 1947).

The present North American university is as complex as its environment; it is a "large scale academic enterprise," which serves a variety of purposes (Ben-David and Zloczower, 1962). Unlike most other organizations in society, the statement of goals and purposes of the university is so vacuously described that it can provide only a general guideline for its activities and leaves the detailed functions to be stated by its internal constituencies. Consequently, one can find in the university catalog a series of general statements, such as: "to develop the individual," "to develop the well-rounded man," or "to give students the greatest possible opportunity to develop their individual capacities." John Corson (1973) argues that the reason for this generality is, first, the existence of many approaches for discovery and instruction of knowledge. Secondly, as the goals and interests of individual members, within and outside of the university, are to some extent varied, only a general statement of aims can be acceptable to all factions.

Socialization and Direct Service

The period after the Second World War has been identified as the beginning of confusion about goals and shift in direction of North American universities (Sanford, 1970; Nisbet, 1971; Barzun, 1968). After the war, the federal government began to offer contractual research directly to the individual faculty member. Thus, faculty found outside sources of financial support, applied research and direct service gained status, and as a result, teaching occupied a secondary position. Indeed, Brown and Mayhew's (1965) observation is probably correct. The wrote:

> Research and scholarship are the primary emphases of the university, and productivity in these areas is the essential criterion for faculty appointment and advancement. Although no university president would claim that teaching is unimportant, actual practice relegates teaching to a secondary role. Generally the assumption is made quite explicit: no one can be an effective college teacher who is not a productive scholar. Instruction becomes, in essence, one additional means by which scholars publish the results of their investigations (p. 32).

But if teaching moved to a secondary position in universities, the service function gained ample status. Gradually university involvement in solving society's problem was replaced by a notion that the university is actually capable of taking direct action in societal change. The increased demands of government, business, industry, and public at large from outside and the eagerness of faculty and administrators from inside to ignore the outcry of students, forced the university toward its present characteristics as a difficult to define, huge and complex social organization.

Present Ambiguity

Despite the vagueness of purpose, it seems the present North American universities are engaged in performing three basic functions: "The acquisition of knowledge," which "is the mission of research; the transmission of knowledge," or "the mission of teaching; and the application of knowledge," that "is the mission of public service (Perkins, 1966, p.10)." It is important to note that, in the course of university development, all three aims have not been given equal importance and emphasis, rather one or the other has usually gained more attention than the other two. For example, North American universities started with the British tradition of undergraduate instruction, later added the German concern for research, and then combined both with a native born ideal of service to society. Today, as Kerr (1963) pointed out:

> Newman's "Idea of a University" still has its devotees--chiefly the humanists and the generalists and the undergraduates. Flexner's "Idea of a Modern University" still has its supporters--

> chiefly the scientists and the specialists and the graduate students. The "Idea of a Multiversity" has its practitioners--chiefly the administrators, who now number many of the faculty among them, and the leadership groups in society at large. . . . These several competing visions of true purpose . . . cause much of the malaise in the university communities of today. The university is so many things to so many different people that it must, of necessity be partially at war with itself (p. 8).

The above remarks from Clark Kerr suggest a general belief in the literature on university goals and governance. In general, the discussion of the goals of universities is perhaps more productive in terms of the relative weight which is attached to teaching, research, and service by each university. Thus, the argument in the literature centres around the proper role of the university, on the grounds that if universities recognize their place in the society, the definition of aims and priorities would be much more appropriate.

Several major roles for the North American universities can be identified. First, there are those writers who see the main role of the university as a "research establishment," which necessitates the greater involvement of the university in assuming responsibility for solving the technical, vocational, social, and other demands and problems of society (Chronister, 1970). Secondly, the university is seen as the "microcosm of culture," which emphasizes the transmission of society's cultural heritage and naturally focusses on teaching (Levitt, 1970; Nisbet, 1971). Third, the university is regarded as a training and consultating centre for the government, business, and industry. This role re-emphasizes the politization of the university (Bloland, 1969). The fourth role derives from the notion of the univerity as being the chief critic of its environment and a model for other sectors of the society (S.E. and Luria, 1970; Case, 1969). The university as a direct service agency constitutes the next role, with the idea that the university is responsible for offering direct service to its "creator-society" (Chapple, 1969).

Beneath all of these views concerning the proper role of the university, there is a general agreement that the modern North American "multiversity" assumes all of these roles at the same time, although the degree of emphasis is relatively different between various universities. However, universities increasingly respond to the needs of society. It seems that North American universities, in general, are deeply involved in solving the racial, ethical, moral, economic, and political problems, not only of their own society, but of the world.

Future Trends

Perhaps it is safe to conclude that North American universities are more research and service oriented than teaching oriented. Of course, this by no means denies the fact that teaching has been considered in writings of almost all interested individuals to be the one mission inseparable from university. Yet, as Orlans (1963) pointed out:

> A Brookings Institute survey of over 3,000 faculty members showed that in colleges as well as universities, small and large, in the humanities and social sciences as well as the natural sciences, faculty members at every rank, regardless of how little time they devoted to undergraduate teaching, wished to reduce that time still further, although all groups wished to increase the time devoted to graduate instruction and especially to research (p. 1626).

Therefore, in relation to the research function of the North American university, it seems that there are two extreme arguments. There are those who believe large-scale research enterprise should be removed from the university on the grounds that it is harmful to teaching on one hand (Kristol, 1970), and, on the other hand, there are others who argue that as society moves toward more complexity and as the technology demands answers to its problems, university must assume responsibility for responding through large-scale research (Dobbins and Lee, 1968). Whatever the pros and cons of the argument, as Orlans (1972) pointed out, large-scale research will remain in the universities.

The service function of the North American university can be divided into two categories: internal services, mostly to students and to a lesser degree to faculty, and external services.

With regard to external services of the North American university, the argument for reducing public services is based upon the assumption of the academic community as a centre for learning and scholarship. Since most of these services are not directly related to the process of learning, there is no point for the university to perform them (Goodman, 1962). Yet, others like Mayhew (1967) wrote, "When an institution is unresponsive to the fundamental demands of and needs of its society, it loses its vitality and becomes irrelevant (p. 3)." To the extent that large-scale research will remain on campus, and to the extent that most of the external services of the universities are highly research-oriented, one could easily assume that public service functions of the university will increase.

The case against the internal services has been made on the grounds that by reducing these services the administrative responsibilities of faculty will sufficiently decrease to enable them to spend more time on research or teaching (Wilson, 1965). Those who are in favor of these services claim that the very existence of these activities and services facilitates the process of learning through student-faculty interaction (Fitzgerald, Johnson and Norris, 1970). In general, as students insist more and more on being treated like adults, and as universities assume less and less the role of in loco parentis, it is likely that the internal services of the university will decrease, yet services which are related to research will increase.

In addition to all of these views, recently Perkins (1973) pointed out a fourth mission of North American universities, namely, that of "creating an ideal democratic community (p. 12)." To the extent that this function is accepted by universities and is highly related to the question of university governance, drastic changes are required in the university structure. The underlying assumptions of the traditional roles of trustees, administrators, faculty and students do not provide the fundamental ingredients, essential for establishing the new democratic structure. Therefore, as the new roles emerged, structural stagnation of the university has added complication to the already existing complex affairs of the university. The next question is: What was, and is, the role of these major groups in universities? The next four chapters are devoted to the discussion of traditional as well as present roles of the trustees, faculty, administrators, and students in the university decision-making structure in both North America and Iran.

UNIVERSITY GOALS IN IRAN

Universities in Iran, as elsewhere, did not develop in a vacuum; instead, a long tradition of culture and social factors shaped the goals of these institutions. Before the Arab invasion (642 A.D.) the goal of education, in general, though without any systematic and organized structure, was two-fold: character building and physical development. These aims derived primarily from three main Zoroastrian religious principles: good thoughts, good words, and good deeds (Fisher, 1968). Therefore, through an alliance of religion, family, and state, all youths were supposed to pursue a common goal expressed basically in terms of service to the state, family and other members of society. Education was regarded as such an important factor in life that it manifested itself even in every day praying of the people: "Oh, Ahuramazda, endow me with an educated child; a child who will participate within his community; a child who will fulfill his duty in society; a child who will strive for the happiness of his family, his city, and his country; an honorable child who may contribute to others' need (Arasteh, 1962, p. 2)." A child was expected to learn not only to ride and to shoot the bow, but, also to understand the value of truth and honesty and to differentiate between good and evil. In addition, physical education was regarded as important as moral and mental educat

The development of the mind and body were, of course, only a part of education and socialization. Vocational training was also important (Frye, 1953). Although there is little evidence as to the ways of vocational training of youths, it was probably by apprenticeship. Therefore, youths learned the importance of truthfulness, justice, courage, and piety on one hand, and were trained for a vocation on the other. Through all this process of education and socialization, the ultimate aim was to train a loyal and obedient individual for the state which had a system of social hierarchy based upon seniority and authority.

Islam as Prime Goal

After the Arab invasion (642 A.D.) and the adoption of the Moslem religion in Iran, education became a matter of learning the Qoran in *maktab* (one room school). The memorization of the Qoran and the emphasis on moral version of Islamic principle, so close to the Iranian culture, came to be the aim of the whole fabric of education (Landor, 1903). To a large part, the family and the religious community were still responsible for training and educating the youth, and the opening of a *maktab* was supposed to be initiated by parents. The subjects of the curriculum included reading, writing, learning the Qoran, and classical Iranian texts. Physical education was stressed for youth through participation in the *Zurkhaneh* (House of Strength), yet to a far lesser degree than in the pre-Islamic period.

In addition to the general pattern of education, those who were interested could continue classical studies in Madresseh (Religious College). Almost all known fields of knowledge could be found in the Madresseh, such as science, philosophy and mathematics (Jackson, 1909). Furthermore, if one was interested in higher level education, he could still continue his studies in nezamyeh at Nishapour, Baghdad, or other cities. The aim of education in nezamyehs was more philosophical than religious dogma. The curriculum consisted of many subjects such as medicine, theology, philosophy, and mathematics. This diversity of subject matter is noted by Sir Sykes (1922) when he talks about Omar Kayyam, who "was given the best education that the age afforded. He was well versed in the Qoran, in Arabic, Astronomy, and philosophy. . . . His knowledge of medicine caused him to be called into prescribe when the little prince Sanjar was ill (p. 300)."

Higher education in traditional Iran was only for a few who were individually interested in learning for the sake of knowledge. These individuals were quite familiar with all kinds of knowledge and as true scholars, learning was their profession (Olmstead, 1959). They were great teachers too, who attracted students from all over the world. The goals of traditional higher learning institutions of Iran, in terms of priority, were based upon scholarship and teaching. The original works of individual scholars in this period (642-1219 A.D.) are evidence of the scholarly nature of higher education in Iran.

By the time of the attack of the Mongols, the originality of work was replaced by imitation of great masters (Sadig, 1956).

The hostility toward aggressive Mongols, and the hopelessness of developing a culture which was destroyed by the Mongols, are the main reasons for this period of darkness. A routine and standard way of teaching prevailed. Creativity was replaced by obedience which still, to some extent, is a landmark of Iranian educational system, even in universities.

In the period of ruling of Safavid Dynasty (1502 A.D.) theology occupied an important place in the curriculum. Religious schools became important educational centres. They were called Hozeh-ye-Elmieh (Learner's Centres) and were a place highly reputed for theological study (Sadig, 1956), so much so that they aroused the interest of the state in higher education. The financial support of the state and the nature of theological studies, in terms of ethical and moral principles, retained scholarship. Here and there, a self-interested individual devoted himself to scholarship, but there was no systematic effort in training scholars. Instruction was the prime mission of higher education, and the whole function of teaching was based upon giving information, any information, regardless of the individual and as long as it was obeyed by students. The function of these institutes of higher learning was to train young clergymen for a society strongly religious-oriented (Banani, 1961).

Training Administrators

The early contact of Iran with the West started in the seventeenth century. Gradually the French, British, German, American, and Russian missionary schools were founded and the influence of the West was introduced; however, the need for higher learning institutions was not recognized until 1828 when Iran was defeated by Russia. The power struggle of British, German and Russian governments to exert their influence over Iran made the country very sensitive to foreigners (Sutton, 1941). The lesson which was gained was simple: to avoid the domination of these external influences Iran must rely on its own resources for protection, even in the field of education. Shortly after 1828 the modernization of an undisciplined army became a focus of interest, and its was in the process of reorganization of the army that the need for other trained civil servants and administrators was felt.

Dar-Al-Funun was founded in 1851 with the understanding that it would train, in addition to those students who were sent to Europe, a cadre of administrators who would accept government responsibility (Browne, 1829). Because of British-Russian rivalries, Austrians were employed and for the first time the concept of technical education was introduced in Iranian higher education. Technical training became a part of the curriculum in addition to liberal arts programs and foreign languages. Although later on the state lost interest in Dar-Al-Funun, especially after the quest for modernity brought its unique problems for the government of neighboring Turkey (Curzon, 1892), the trend was there and the forces of time, influence of the West, and the need for more and more trained manpower opened other colleges which were connected with the several ministries. In all these struggles for modernity, the prime goals of Iranian institutes of higher learning were supplying leaders for service to society. Socialization of youth became the responsibility of family and religious communities but there was no clear separation between religion, education, and the state.

Subsequent Developments

By the downfall of Qajar and rise of the Pahlavi Dynasty in 1925, a series of revolutionary attempts were made toward modernization and industrialization of Iran. The strong quest for nationalism, which is an important part of the Iranian culture, was followed by a demand for industrialization. Donald Wilber (1963) pointed out:

> Reza Shah felt more keenly than any of his compatriots the tragic contrast between Iran's previous past and her present impotent states, and was resolved to rouse the country from her lethargy and to foster national unity and pride. Iran was to throw off all foreign intervention and influence and was to win full independence and the respect of other nations. She was to be industrialized, and her social and economic institutions reformed along Western lines, a program similar in working details to that of neighboring Turkey (p. 97).

In accord with this plan a fundamental need was felt in terms of educational expansion. The elementary and secondary levels of education received a high rate of attention, and for the first time an organized system of education was planned and executed. Scattered colleges of law, science, literature, and theology, which were attached to various ministries as well as the autonomous college of medicine, were merged to form Tehran University. Therefore, the first modern university in Iran, in the true meaning of the term, was founded in 1934. Even this reform had only one major goal, namely, training potential leaders and administrators of society for the state.

The growth of the colleges and universities have reflected the expectations of the ministries and the demand of the growing middle class. Yet, because of the lack of sufficient financial resources which government could devote to higher education, the expansion was so slow that an entrance examination was established (Arasteh, 1963a). Even though change was slow in higher education, the rate of modernization in general was so fast that the necessary supporting social change could not keep pace and some parts of the reform became unsuccessful.

The lack of standards of scholarship, academic integrity, and intellectual discipline in the Iranian institute of higher learning reduced the university's reputation and made it somewhat superficial (Arasteh, 1963b). Furthermore, the unconditional transplanting of the French model, without consideration of the native and local social atmosphere, prevented the university from attaining high academic standing. As in France, universities adopted highly administrative centralization, chair-holding professorships, learning based on memorization, and teaching of classic subjects in overcrowded classrooms. However, the indirect service of the university through training future leaders of the society continued and was considered to be the only goal of the university. This point was noticed by Haas in 1946, when he wrote:

> The task of the new university is, and will be for years to come, to prepare for the various professions. Independent and original scholarly work and research will be rare exceptions. . . . The absence of independent and original scholarly activity may be counteracted by the maintenance of close and continuous contact with the scientific and intellectual movement going on

> in the rest of the world. . . . Thorough study of foreign scientific books and reviews could not compensate for the intellectual isolation in which the university finds itself (p. 177).

Haas' observation is correct when one reads the words of a former minister of education:

> . . . in secondary schools and . . . the university the gifted youth must be trained for leadership and service in the state. They must be given a vision of Persia's place, past and present in the world, with the ideals of leading the country in culture, science, technology, business, statesmanship, and government, to such heights as befits a progressive state (Sadig, 1931, p. 83).

Therefore, the ideals of society at large and the university as a sub-system were three-fold: first, a complete break from the traditional power of religion, secondly, a complete dedication to the idea of nationalism by focussing on the glorious past, and finally a rapid borrowing of Western material advances. The underlying force behind all of these aims was the idea of nationalism.

After the Second World War Iran began to rebuild her economic, social, cultural, and political institutions (Baldwin, 1967). The introduction of Iran's first Seven-Year Development Plan in 1948 was followed by a second Seven-Year Plan in 1955. Although not quite as successful, at least in some areas, as had been expected by their founders, it did represent the aspirations of modern Iran. Subsequently, a third Five-Year Plan was established in 1962 in which provision was made for raising educational standards and for building new universities in the direction of economic and social growth of Iran. The political stability, rapid economic growth, and industrialization brought with it the need for an inevitable social and cultural change.

According to the Ministry of Education:

> Despite the rapid economic progress, the social structure kept its static and inflexible shape. Economy and politics were still based upon unjust landlord and peasant relationships, and the inequality of social and political rights between citizens and villagers, men and women, and employers and employees (p. 1).

Educational Revolution

To accomplish the task of economic growth and social progress, the White Revolution was initiated by His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Shahanshah Aryamehr on January 26, 1962. The White Revolution, itself a revolution within an already existing revolutionary state, aimed at making a new social structure compatible with the task of modernization and industrialization. A campaign was launched against illiteracy and prejudice with a view to separating religion from the state and stimulating social creativity and progressiveness (Saghavi, German and Missen, 1967). Although the magnitude and the direct contribution of the White Revolution receives a detailed analysis in Chapter VIII, for the purpose of the present discussion, suffice it to note that the White Revolution brought for the first time in the history of Iran a new challenge into the traditional passive attitude of the people on the one hand, and a fight against the modern bureaucratic phenomenon of red tape on the other hand. An education corps program and the Health Corps and Extension Corps were introduced to fight against illiteracy and to upgrade the health, social and economic standards of the people. For the first time, the long dream of industrialization and the separation of religion from affairs of the state became a reality. The need for skilled manpower and vocational training for industry and demand for specialized civil servants increased rapidly. The whole picture of the economic, social, political, and cultural development of Iran moved into a period of transition, which still is the best description of the atmosphere of Iran.

Universities, along with the other organizations of the society, charged with a responsibility of carrying out the many objectives of the Revolution assumed a new role, namely, that of a model for the rest of society. In addition to the previous goals of training students for a profession through indirect service to society, universities were now supposed to educate a political youth for assuming leadership in a revolutionary society, a society in transition. Unfortunately, universities were neither equipped nor prepared to carry out their new missions. They failed to adjust to the ever increasing demands of society. The old structure, based on the French universities, which had little flexibility, and the lack of deep understanding of the aims of the revolution, made Iranian universities unsuccessful. Despite the report of Rahimi and Habibzadeh (1971), from the Research Institute indicating that "Iran has achieved much in the quantitative expansion of her educational system during the decade of 1960-70 . . . with an average annual growth rate of 9.8 percent, Iran has far surpassed this expectation (p. 3)," Iranian universities failed to increase and upgrade the quality of their institution; indeed, the old structure remained static and internal tension became evident.

In 1968, again by the initiation of H.I.M. Shahanshah Aryamehr, the goals and ideals of higher education were outlined in the Ramsar Educational Revolution charter. These aims were increases in quality as well as quantity in the institutions of higher learning. According to Rahimi and Habibzadeh (1971), the charter "placed great stress on scientific and technological subjects so that the distribution of university students would be such that fifty-five percent receive education in scientific, technological and industrial fields and the remaining forty-five percent in other fields of study by 1972 (p. 1)." In addition, provision was made for the universities for internal self-study and possible reorganization. Finally, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education was created in 1968 through legislation with the main aim of guiding and channelling the activities of the universities toward educational revolution.

SUMMARY

At present the idea of the university in Iran is largely based on the assumption that its main role is to prepare individuals for administrative and professional roles in government. Based on this philosophy, the main and perhaps only function of the university is the transmission of knowledge and society's cultural heritage. Consequently, the teaching function of the university is stressed while research and service goals are almost totally disregarded. The university is viewed as an organization quite apart from the society at large but which has the economic and political capabilities that may have consequences for the government; this potential, in turn, results in a highly centralized control over university goals.

Unlike Iranian universities, in North America many of these academic institutions assume a number of diversified roles. While they are highly responsive to the changes and demands of society, they also assume leadership through critical analyses of their social and political contexts. Not only do they accept the responsibility of transmitting the culture and meeting the societal needs for trained manpower, but they are also engaged in adding to the knowledge of the world through advanced research. Based on these diversified roles, North American universities are mostly characterized as all-purpose institutions. All of these activities can be classified under four major interrelated functions, namely, transmission of knowledge, acquisition of knowledge, application of knowledge, and providing an internal democratic community.

Despite the fact that the idea of modern colleges and universities in North America and Iran was imported from Europe, in the course of their development they assumed different characteristics which were mainly due to the unique societal factors of both cultures. It is true that universities in North America and Iran started as centres for training religious leaders for their societies; yet, from that point on differences became marked.

The attempts at separation of church and state and the decentralized nature of the educational system in North America encouraged competition and the introduction of innovative ideas into the universities. The free climate of the British undergraduate college which was based on teaching and scholarship and the challenging atmosphere of German research-oriented graduate schools was adopted and, gradually, the North American notion of university in the service of public was introduced. Rapid industrialization and the increased demands for new specialties have urged the North American universities to broaden their scope and to modify their previous goals in favor of new ones.

In Iran, until recently, religious philosophy remained as a constant companion to the university and the state. The interest of the state in education which manifested itself in a centralized educational system, combined with the agricultural nature of the country did not demand anything beyond teaching and individual scholarly work. In fact, the simplicity of colleges was a reflection of the society. Unlike the North American societies which were largely isolated from the hostilities of the world, the development of Iranian universities and their goals was subject to occasional disruptions due to various invasions.

CHAPTER IV

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES IN NORTH AMERICAN AND IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

This chapter examines the role of the board of trustees in North American universities in terms of their historical origin, methods of selection, organization, characteristics, power and responsibilities, and future possibilities. The role of boards of trustees in Iranian universities is approached in more general terms.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES IN NORTH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

The lay board of control is one of the unique features of the North American university system. For three hundred years these boards have been legally authorized to govern colleges and universities. They have been called by various names such as board of regents, overseers, board of governors, and visitors but the most commonly used term is the board of trustees. For a long time in the history of North American universities, these people played a standard yet important role and, admittedly, maintained a very high level of accomplishment in view of the constant expansion of higher education. Morton Rauh (1959) pointed out that:

> The distinguishing characteristic of college trusteeship in the United States is that control is vested almost without exception in lay boards. . . .
>
> Under this system of lay control we have produced a concept of universal educational opportunity which has characterized the

> phenomenal development of American higher education. The diversity of our colleges and universities seems to have been encouraged by this system of control (p. 13).

Recently, trustees became the centre of many attacks on campuses, and the increasing demands for reform from faculty, students, and outside groups made it necessary for trustees to assume a fresh and different role than what they held for centuries. The substantial writings on the new and changed role of the trustees adds to the already existing confusion which surrounded trusteeship of colleges and universities.

Historical Origin

In North America the idea of the lay board of trustees, like that of institutions of higher learning, was imported from Europe, in particular, from the universities of Italy and Scotland. In medieval Italian universities students held all administrative positions and actually were the only group with power. Later on this power was challenged by faculty and eventually students lost control. As Cowley (1959) pointed out, ". . . civil authorities took over by appointing what we would today call boards of trustees, that is, lay bodies of non-academic people (p. 7)." America took the idea of the lay board from Scottish universities. Cowley (1959) in reporting the situation in Europe concludes that:

> European universities have followed two historical patterns of government, the French and the Italian. American colleges seesawed between the two until the beginning of the nineteenth century and then chose the Italian. . . . I call it the historic Italian plan, but the Americans got it from the Scottish universities which had copied it from the University of Leyden, which in turn had adopted it from the Italian universities (p. 7).

The main difference between French and Italian universities was in administrative control. In French universities faculty held the power to control the university.

In America, Harvard started with a board of overseers in 1636 and later on established the second body or the "corporation." The board of overseers was composed of clergymen, and the corporation consisted of a president, five fellows--faculty--, and one treasurer (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968). Other colleges like William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, and Pennsylvania, more or less followed the same pattern. Since the notion of putting the ultimate authority to control the colleges and universities in the hands of lay boards of trustees was first recognized and took its place in the government structure of the North American universities, it has not been challenged until recently. Thus, early colleges were controlled by governing boards, and these boards exercised executive, administrative, as well as governing authority over their institutions.

The trustees of colleges and universities in pre-Civil War period were mostly ministers. There is no evidence as to whether special knowledge like business experience was then regarded as an essential qualification for trustees. The loyalty to the church was far more important than financial skills (Veysey, 1965). These trustees were quite dominant up to the period of the Civil War, mainly because colleges and universities were small, church related, and relatively easy to control. Besides, the absence of sufficient well-experienced faculty members advanced the strength of the early boards (Herron, 1969).

The university after the Civil War became more complex and comparatively larger in size. As they expanded in size, complexity, and functions their budgets also began to increase. This change and the fact that universities needed more specialized trustees accounted for the replacement of clergy by businessmen or lawyers. It was near the end of the nineteenth century that the trustees of North American universities started to have somewhat similar characteristics to the present trustees. They were college graduates, middle-aged or older, successful in professional life, and conservative in their attitudes (McGrath, 1936). These people were valued not only because board membership was prestigious, but also because they were expected to raise money especially for private universities and to maintain good relationships with legislators in public universities.

The areas of trustee influence were selection of the president, personnel matters, educational policy, finance, and physical plant (Beck, 1947). Traditionally, the board of trustees avoided making decisions in the area of educational programs and left these decisions to the faculty, while reserving the right to make decisions of basic and fundamental educational policy. They saw their role as the spokesmen for the university and because of the lack of discrepancy among various interest groups, in terms of educational philosophy, and the fact that since the 1960's there was no room available for students and faculty on the board, this view was not challenged. Since the 1960's the role of the trustees has been changed, and their authority has been challenged. Yet, as Burns (1966) pointed out, "The need for trustees has been continually validated throughout the history of American higher education (p. 8)."

Methods of Selection

There are at least four major ways by which a person can be selected for membership on boards of trustees of North American colleges and universities: election, appointment, co-optation, and ex-officio methods (Burns, 1966; Hughes, 1951). The election procedure follows the choice of either the entire constituencies, or large segments of the constituencies of a college or university, of persons to serve on the board of trustees. The appointment procedure places control of the selection of board members in the hands of an official, such as the governor of a state. Co-optation, the third method of selecting the board members, means that the board members themselves have the right and duty to select persons to fill vacancies or to add to the board membership at all times. Finally, the ex-officio members, as the term indicates, are determined automatically by the particular office held by an individual.

Additional ways of selecting board members have been identified by other writers. Beck (1947), for instance, lists six methods of selecting the board members of the colleges and universities he studied. Eells (1961), in his study of board members of 1046 colleges and universities in the United States, identified 11 methods of selecting board members. Actually, however, these methods were extensions of the main four procedures that were identified.

The prevailing method of selecting board members among privately controlled colleges and universities is by co-optation and among public controlled institutions the practice is to use appointment by elected state officials. The use of ex-officio members is very common in both public and private universities. The very nature of ex-officio members of the board draws large criticism from writers on university administration (Boyer, 1968; Herron, 1969; Zwingle, 1970).

Several points can be identified against the use of ex-officio members on the board of trustees:

1. these members are extremely busy with other official duties of their office and therefore unable to devote enough time and energy to the trusteeship of the institutions they serve;
2. such membership prevents a broader representativeness of the board and consequently enlarges the total number on the board; and,
3. besides ex-officio membership, as a way of coordinating the functions of the board and other agencies, there are other techniques for exchange of views and information that can be used effectively.

There is, generally, a contradiction in the literature with regard to the importance of the methods of selecting board members as being a major issue in overall functioning of the boards. Russell and Reeves (1936) did not recommend the inclusion of selection techniques among major issues in their study of Michigan State colleges and universities. Others, however, questioned the methods of selection.

Capen (1953) asserts that the present methods of selecting board members in colleges and universities of the United States is an example of authoritarian government, since they do not represent those who make up the institutions: the teachers and the students. Despite the argument, the literature appears to favor the appointment method of selecting board members for state controlled colleges and universities with the power of appointment held by the governor of the state.

Organization of the Board

Size. There are two important issues to be considered in any discussion of the size of the board of trustees. One is the representativeness of the university served, which necessitates a rather large board for effective performance. The second is the administrative manageability which emphasizes that boards should be small enough to ease communication, to bring higher attendance rates at meetings, and to facilitate more exchange of views among members.

In North American universities the number of members of the board of trustees is varied. Some of them have as few as three members while others might have more than 100 members. Heneman (1959) found the average between 15 and 18 members. Charles Eliot (1908) recommended that "the best number of members of a university's principal governing board is seven; because that number can sit around a small table, talk with each other informally without waste of words or any display or pretense, provide an adequate diversity of point of view [. . . and yet be prompt and efficient in the dispatch of business (p. 3)." It is very hard to find agreement with Eliot's recommendation from empirical studies available in the literature. Furthermore, even the opinion of writers in the field are extremely divided as to the optimum size of boards. Statements to support large and small boards can be found. Dana (1947), for example, supported larger boards because he considered that it helps to bring together broader representation of the various university constituencies and also provides a greater chance of supplying the needed financial resources of the university. On the other hand, Cumings (1953), recommended that the most common weaknesses of the board could be reduced by minimizing the size of the board.

Actually, the average size of the boards of publicly controlled universities is reported to be between nine to 15 members (Burns, 1966; Duster, 1956; Rauh, 1969; Hartnett, 1968). The vital question which remains unanswered as yet is whether a board's ability to fulfil its functions is related to size.

Committee structure. To offset the two extremes of large and small size of the board, a committee pattern of board organization has been used in the North American universities. With the exception of some very small boards that always function as a committee of the whole, most boards of trustees have a committee structure. The boards, depending on the institutions they serve, may have as few as three and as many as ten to 12 committees. The titles of these committees are varied and there is no general trend toward a unified pattern (Hughes, 1951). There are many reasons for using committees.

Amont these Rauh (1969) pointed out:

> 1. To accomplish a larger order of business than would be possible in meetings of the full board.
> 2. To "educate" trustees in the problems of the institution by giving them more occasions for intimate contact.
> 3. To utilize special skills of the trustees more efficiently.
> 4. To provide more occasions for direct contact between trustees and members of the staff.
> 5. To take advantage of the availability of local trustees where the board as a whole is geographically scattered.
> 6. To screen and prepare matters for action by the full board (p. 80).

When the size or other practical circumstances excludes the possibility of boards meeting as a whole, they generally establish an executive committee which acts for the board between meetings. In his study Corson (1960) found three standing committees to be common among boards in addition to the executive committee. These were standing committees dealing with investment, budgetary matters, and physical facilities. Hughes (1951) adds another committee to Corson's list which is concerned with education and faculty. He goes on, however, to conclude that "an inspection of catalogues discloses a great variety of other committees determined by the needs of the several institutions (p. 10)."

The executive committee of the board is usually composed of small numbers, and members seem to be drawn from trustees who reside close to campus and naturally can meet more frequently than the other trustees. The executive committee has full authority to act on behalf of the board as a whole, and their action is approved automatically at the next meeting of the board. Some writers named the executive committee as the "inner board," and raised some criticisms. For example, Rauh (1969) argues that the most obvious weaknesses of executive committees are:

> 1. The tendency to draw upon local trustees to fill the committee posts may produce a committee which is not representative of the broader point of view of the board as a whole.
> 2. Trustees living in or near the community where the campus is located have direct access to information not available to more distant trustees. The data flowing through these "pipelines" may not always be reliable.
> 3. The board as a whole may find its role restricted to pro forma approvals of actions already taken by the committee (p. 81).

These serious doubts of the validity of standing committees and especially executive committees, are the major reasons why Rauh advocates the abolition of all standing committees and recommends the ad hoc committees as the alternative. To the extent that this recommendation introduces other procedural methods, some writers supported this point; others, like Herron (1969), are more in favor of standing committees and place their emphasis on the rearrangement of committee membership. Ruml and Morrison (1959) believe that boards of trustees should use both standing and ad hoc committees:

> The existence of standing committees helps in dividing the work of trustees, but the standing committee can be improperly used to conceal as well as to inform. The ad hoc Special Committee is likely to serve a useful purpose if the members will cooperate and not leave the chairman with an issue too hot to handle in an open Board meeting (p. 78).

Meetings of the boards. The number and types of meetings of the boards of trustees of North American universities are, again, varied. While some meet once a year, others have monthly meetings. The larger the size of the board, the fewer the frequency of meetings. Public controlled universities seem to meet every month or on an average of nine times a year, and most private universities meet only once or twice each year. Some public controlled universities are by law required to hold a specified number of meetings a year. Martorana (1963) in his study of 150 boards of trustees found that the average requirement was four meetings.

In contrast to privately controlled universities, open meetings are a common practice in most publicly controlled universities, either by law or tradition. Of course, the boards have provision to close their meetings whenever they consider it desirable, again either by law or custom of the institution. It is the very nature of this authority to close or open a meeting which has the potential for wide range of opinions, since it is a hard task to argue what is private and what is public (Budd, 1971; Havinghurst, 1954).

Holding special meetings in addition to regular meetings is a way of keeping pace with the ever increasing problems and emergency issues of a university. Usually, contrary to the openness of regular meetings, special meetings are closed. In addition to these two types of meetings most boards hold briefing sessions. In general, if the board cannot have enough meetings to formulate the policy of the university, the result would be what Corson (1960) found:

> Meetings, therefore, tend to be formal affairs for official approval of matters previously worked out by the president, the board chairman, and committees. As a rule, significant decision-making does not occur at official board meetings, particularly by the larger boards (p. 51).

Characteristics of the Boards

Despite the general agreement in the literature that the boards of trustees are one of the most important groups in the governance of North American colleges and universities, few empirical studies are available about the characteristics of trustees as responsible bodies of these institutions. Instead, there are numerous writings on qualifications of board members which are mainly subjective and, consequently, are subject to the values and orientations of their respective writers. Therefore, while the former writers provide data regarding what the trustees as individuals or as a group are, the latter writers supply information as to what the individual trustees and trustees as a whole should be.

The qualifications most frequently found in university charters, legislations, and scholarly writings on university governance are related to occupation, age, sex, religion, and residence (Beck, 1947; Burns, 1966; Rauh, 1969). Such qualifications as personality and ideals, wealth and income, politics, education and family connections do not exist in charters and laws of the universities but receive ample consideration in the literature.

Hubert Beck's (1947) findings based on 734 trustees of 30 leading universities in the United States indicate that occupationally 90 percent of the trustees formerly had been college students and therefore had some understanding of academic community. There was a very high proportion of leaders of "large-scale business and finance," though lower in publicly controlled universities than privately controlled institutions. Only 36 trustees, including 12 presidents as ex-officio members, or 4.8 percent of his sample were educators. His findings indicate that 47 percent of the trustees were 60 years of age or over and 18 percent 70 years or over; he concludes that this is too high for these boards who govern the educational experiences of youth. Other findings show the low proportion of women--less than five percent--on the boards of trustees. In terms of background in religion, Beck observed that only 48 trustees, or less than seven percent, were clergy, which is a sharp contrast to the predominance of the clergy in the nineteenth century universities. Finally, his findings indicate that the trustees he studied were generally conservative in their political and social orientations.

Although there are differences of opinion among writers as to the interpretation of these findings, generally a brief comparison of Beck's findings with the other writings prior to 1947 reveals a wide gap between existing and idealized qualifications and composition of the boards at that time. For example, Duggan (1916), Newlon (1939), Lindley (1925), and Thwing (1926) took strong positions against the dominance of businessmen on university boards of trustees. Others like Hughes (1951) criticized the age distribution of trustees, when he wrote:

> In most boards there are too many old men. The average age of the members of a given board is very often too high. It would seem desirable to keep the average age between 50 and 60. It would also seem desirable that no member should serve beyond the age of 70 years. There should certainly be a substantial number of members between 30 and 50 on these boards.

> It seems more important that the board should be young enough to sense the needs of the people they represent and guide the changing institutions to their largest service, rather than that a large majority of aged men should maintain policies unchanged (p. 6).

This statement is the typical viewpoint of almost all writers on university governance at that time. Several authors have referred critically to the severe discrimination against women as board members of colleges and universities in the United States (Counts, 1927; Reeves and Russell, 1932). Generally, however, sex qualifications of board members have received very little discussion. Lindsay and Holland (1930) recommended high educational attainment for board members based on the assumption that a real university is devoted to scholarship and so should its trustees. However, not all writers prior to 1947 were dissatisfied with Beck's study. Those who argued that boards should be made up of persons who have themselves achieved positions of status and leadership found ample support in Beck's findings.

More than two decades after the publication of Beck's study a nationwide study by Hartnett (1968) showed that really little change, if any at all, had occurred in qualifications and composition of the boards of trustees of American universities. Hartnett's data indicates that:

> In general, trustees are male, in their fifties (though, nationally more than a third are over sixty), white . . ., well educated, and financially well-off. . . . They occupy prestige occupations, frequently in medicine, law, and education, but more often as business executives (in the total sample over 35 percent are executives of manufacturing, merchandising or investment firms and at private universities nearly 50 percent hold such positions). As a group, then, they personify "success" in the usual American sense of that word (p. 19).

These data plus those data collected by Duster (1965) confirm the static nature of trusteeship in the American universities.

While this is true in the United States, data collected by Houwing and Michaud (1972) from Canadian universities indicate the implementation of some of the recommendations of the Duff-Berdahl report of 1966. Duff-Berdahl recommended an optimum size of 15 to 25 members for governing bodies of the universities. They also suggested the inclusion of faculty members and students in boards. In 1970, Houwing and Michaud found that the percentage of medium size boards (15 to 25) increased from 53 percent to 80 percent of the total boards in their sample. The number of clergy on boards between 1965-1970 declined from 17 percent to 13 percent of the total membership in Canadian universities. While in 1965 only 18 boards had faculty members, in 1970 there were 43 boards which included one or more faculty members. This means an increase from 32 percent to 73 percent of membership of the boards studied. Another finding by these authors shows a rapid development in student participation in the governing boards of Canadian universities. In 1965 there were no students on boards of trustees, and in 1970 students were present on 28 of the 59 boards surveyed.

In general, it seems that Canadian universities in terms of faculty and student participation in governing boards are probably far ahead of the American universities. In the United States, Rauh's (1969) statement can be considered as typical among writers:

> It is surprising that so few professional educators are members of boards considering that almost without exception trustees and presidents who have served on boards with educators testify that they make first rate board members (p. 62).

Power and Responsibilities of the Board

Writers in the field acknowledge the fact that the power of trustees can be approached in two ways. First, in theory the question of trustees' power seems clear; most North American universities are publicly chartered and final and legal authority rests with their governing boards. Indeed, the state constitutions and statutes pertaining to public universities and the charters granted to private universities usually indicate that the board of trustees, in the legal sense, is the institution (Bolton and Jenck, 1971). For example, the legal basis for the operation of the University of California indicates that:

> The University of California shall constitute a public trust, to be administered by the existing corporation as "The Regent of the University of California," with full powers of organization and government, subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure compliance with the terms of the endowments of the University and the security of its funds (The Constitution of the State of California, 1918).

In the legislative acts for Canadian universities, similar statements show that the boards of trustees are legally empowered for the management and control of the property, revenue, business and other affairs of the universities.

The official founding documents of universities and their boards of trustees differ from one to another, and the degree of board authority varies from state to state. The generalization that boards of trustees hold very large powers over their universities has been strongly voiced in the literature (Wise, 1970; Mortimer, 1971; McConnell, 1971a). Beck (1947) states: "Almost without exception . . .

governing boards exercise these powers and functions without the consent of the governed. . . . (p. 30)." Others protested against broad board power and saw it as a "simon pure example of authoritarian government (Capen, 1953, p. 7)."

Corson (1968) argues that the characteristics of university community dictates different kinds of control than for business and governmental institutions, and in practice the boards of trustees exercise only limited authority over universities. Therefore, the second feature of board power is what authority they actually practice. There is a distinction between theoretical power and actual power, and almost all of the writers in the field admit that boards of trustees possess far more of the former than of the latter (Herron, 1969; Gross and Grambsch, 1968; Duryea, 1971; McBride, 1959). In spite of all legal authority, trustees are limited operationally by various factors.

For public universities, one limitation is their dependence on the state for financial support. Some state universities, like branches of the state government, are subject to complete state legislation and others are less directly subject to legislation. Other types of limitations seem to include judicial decisions, the standards of accrediting agencies, and the increasing demands of faculty, students, alumni, non-academic staff, and the general public which most boards of trustees in the North American universities are facing (Hughes, 1951). Further limitations arise out of the necessity for delegation of major authority to the president and to a lesser degree to the faculty and students. Since trustees are usually laymen and devote only a small portion of their time to university matters, in practice some delegation of authority is inevitable. The most common way of doing this is to delegate a large amount of authority to the president (Henderson, 1970) which, in turn, provides a hierarchical pattern of administrative levels in the university. While Stroup (1966) believes this structure is similar to business and governmental institutions, Corson (1960) argues:

> . . . to understand the governance of colleges and universities requires the recognition of the fact that the scalar principle, so firmly imbedded in the minds of those acquainted with business, governmental, and military organizations, has no duplicate in the academic enterprise. The roles of the trustees, the presidents, the deans, the department head, and the faculty (faculties) have a surface similarity to the scalar organization found in other enterprises, but a basic dissimilarity (p. 14).

John Corson (1973) elaborates these dissimilarities and identifies them in the areas of the charter of the university which lack a clear stated purpose; activities of the university which centre around teaching, research, and socialization; character of the university which provides scholarly environment; and membership of the universities which shows seven different groups who increasingly demand participation in governance.

Scholars in the field of higher education disagree on the extent to which board authority should be delegated. Hughes (1951), for example, divides university governance responsibilities in this fashion:

> The trustees control all financial and property matters and determine general policies. The president administers the institution under policies fixed by the trustees. The faculty

> controls teaching and research and is responsible for academic standards (p. 11).

The point is, no matter what type of delegation of authority governing boards use and no matter how much authority they delegate, the ultimate responsibility is theirs. Blackwell (1951) describes the point in the United States:

> In this country, the governing board of a non-public college or university has plenary authority, limited only by the provision of its charter, the laws of the land, and public opinion. Much of this authority is usually delegated to the president, the chief executive officer of the institution. The president, in turn, delegates many of his duties and responsibilities to his administrative officers, deans and faculty committees. However, the governing board remains the repository of power since it may, at its pleasure, withhold or withdraw its delegation of power (p. 40).

In spite of these various limitations boards still hold the powers necessary for control of the university operation. The areas of governance in which the boards are most influential are selection of the president and other senior administrative officers, educational policy, finance, and physical plant (Burns, 1966). Most authorities believe that the selection of the president is the most important function of the trustees. The literature is full of different and sometimes controversial advice for the trustees as what to look for when they select a president. It is true that through the type and quality of president chosen, trustees are in a position to influence the entire operation of a university. Along with this important function trustees also exercise their authority through control of decisions with regard to distribution of university funds.

In general, Rauh (1969) describes the basic responsibilities of the boards of trustees as:

1. They hold the basic legal document of origin.
2. They evolve the purpose of the institution consonant with the terms of this document.
3. They seek a planned development.
4. They select and determine the tenure of the chief executive.
5. They hold the assets in trust.
6. They act as court of last resort (p. 9).

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973), provides a similar outline of board functions. The combined powers and functions, both actual and legal, of the boards of trustees are easy to underestimate. But, most writers agree with Hughes (1951) and his expression:

> The ideals and character of the faculties of these institutions, the quality and inspiration of the teaching, their adaptation to the current needs of society, their general efficiency, and their adequate support depend very largely on the trustees. . . . No public trust today is more important than the trusteeship of American colleges and universities (p. 162).

Future Possibilities for Boards

Today it appears that boards of trustees of North American universities are losing some of their traditional power. Clark Kerr's (1970a) comments support this statement when he argues that: "There are more claimants for power than ever before, and there is no more power to be divided. Someone must lose it if others gain--a zero-sum game." He goes on to say that: "On campus, the big losers, particularly in domination of budget, have been the board and the president (p. 107)." Ruml and Morrison (1959) held a strong view that the boards of trustees should "take back from the faculty as body its present authority over the design and administration of the curriculum . . . not because the board members are able to exercise it better than can the faculty as a body but because the board does have the final authority and accountability (p. 13)."

In contrast, the broad authority of governing boards caused many writers to declare that they constitute an example of authoritarian government (Bell, 1956; Abbott, 1970). This view has been pushed to the extreme by Veblen (1957):

> The typical modern university is in a position, without loss or detriment, to dispense with the services of any board of trustees, regents, curators, or what not. Except for the insuperable difficulty of getting a hearing for such an extraordinary proposal, it should be no difficult matter to show that these governing boards of businessmen commonly are quite useless to the university for any businesslike purpose. Indeed, except for a stubborn prejudice to the contrary, the fact should readily be seen that the boards are of no material use in any connection; their sole effectual function being to interfere with the academic management in matters that are not of the nature of business, and that lie outside their competencies and outside the range of their habitual interest (p. 14).

Veblen's view gained vast support from faculty members. But most writers avoid these two extremes and admit the present confusion around the proper role for the trustees of North American universities (Trow, 1970). Most of the proposals in the literature centred around the issue of board composition.

Until the late 1960's, there was no place for faculty and students on the governing boards of universities. Since then, there is an increasing agreement that the greater representation of faculty and students on governing boards might result in a greater degree of responsiveness by trustees to the needs of various interest groups. Abbott (1970) argues that the primary function of the university is the operation of educational programs, therefore, those who know most about this job--the faculty--should be represented on the board. This view, however, has its critics. For example, Corson (1971) believes that a faculty dominated board can lead the university away from the "real world of affairs (p. 436)." In general, most writers seem to favor lay members in the majority with some professional educators on the board.

A review of the proposals and recommendations of selective writings indicates that these are generally in line with those of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. These recommendations are six, and might be considered as the main principles in determining the future of boards of trustees. They are:

1. Elected officials with the power of budgetary review should not serve as members of governing boards of public institutions over which they exercise such review because of the conflict of interest and the resulting double access to control, and because of the partisan nature of their positions.

2. Members of governing boards of public institutions (where the governor makes the appointments) should be subject to appropriate mechanisms for nominating and screening individuals before appointment by the governor to assure consideration of properly qualified individuals, or to subsequent legislative confirmation to reduce the likelihood of purely politically partisan appointments, or to both.

3. Faculty members, students, and alumni should be associated with the process of nominating at least some board members in private and public institutions, but faculty members and students should not serve on the boards of institutions where they are enrolled or employed.

4. Board membership should reflect the different age, sex, and racial groups that are involved in the concerns of the institution. Faculty members from other institutions and young alumni should be considered for board memberships.

5. Boards should consider faculty and student membership on appropriate board committees, or the establishment of parallel committees with arrangements for joint consultation.

> 6. Boards periodically should review the arrangements for governance--perhaps every four or five years--to be certain that they fit the current needs of the institution and are appropriate to the various functions being performed (p. 34).

The above recommendations deal with the composition of the boards. Other future possibilities have been proposed in the literature. For example, Rauh (1969) describes five modifications which he thinks "might have important long-range results." These are: 1) "out of seclusion," or openness of board meetings; 2) "an enlarged franchise," or a challenge to "self-perpetuation." He believes that students and faculty should have the right to elect the trustees; 3) "diversification," or a new yardstick for measuring board attitudes; 4) "shared responsibility," he feels it is the responsibility of trustees to encourage faculty and students to join in the management of universities; and finally 5) "involvement and time," which in Rauh's view means "the achievement of increased involvement without intrusion into management function (p. 149)."

It is an extremely difficult task to define all of the trends which could indicate the future of trusteeship in the North American universities. Yet, the synthesis of the literature provides some generalized roles for the trustees in the future (Hartnett, 1969; Burns, 1966; Hughes, 1951; Ruth, 1969; Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973):

1. Governing board members will play an important role in the universities by assuming more authority.
2. Governing board members will be selected with more care and consequently will have more orientation toward higher education.

3. Governing board members will devote more time and energy as they become more involved.
4. Governing board members will assume more involvement in internal and external financial and educational affairs of the universities.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES IN IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

In 1960, on the invitation of the Government of Iran, a survey team composed of the president, secretary, and two faculty members of the University of Pennsylvania visited some of the Iranian institutions of higher learning. The main purpose of that invitation and their visit was to prepare a proposal and recommendations for the possible establishment of a new university in Iran along the lines of the tradition of American universities. The short visit of the University of Pennsylvania Survey Team resulted in a brief report submitted to the Government of Iran for further consideration in September 1960 (University of Pennsylvania Survey Team, 1960).

Further investigations by the Government of Iran and her strong determination, combined with frequent visits of the University of Pennsylvania officials to Iran, made the report a reality and preliminary steps were taken for establishing the new university in Shiraz, 600 miles south of Tehran, a relatively small city with 250,000 population and an attractive setting for an academic community. Among those conditions were the fact that Shiraz had already a provincial university (University of Shiraz) and important corollary institutions such as Nemazee Hospital.

The University of Shiraz consisted of the Faculty of Medicine, established in December, 1948; the Faculty of Literature and Agriculture, 1955; and the Faculty of Science, 1958. In June 30, 1962, by the approval of the report and order of H.I.M. Shahanshah Aryamehr, Pahlavi University officially succeeded the University of Shiraz and absorbed "all buildings, assets, liabilities, students, and faculty in accordance with the constitution approved by joint committee of Majlis and the Senate on 6th Khordad 1341--June 1962 (Pahlavi University Bulletin, 1968, p. 11)."

One of the important recommendations of the University of Pennsylvania Survey Team was the introduction of the notion of the board of trustees as the ultimate authority for the Pahlavi University. Therefore, for the first time in the history of Iranian universities, in accord with the law, Pahlavi University was placed under the supervision of a board of trustees. Six years later, in 1968, other Iranian universities established their own boards of trustees and appropriate changes in the law put them directly under the control of their respective boards.

The selection method for trustees of Iranian universities is mainly by co-optation and ex-officio membership. Initially, the appointment method was used to form the boards of trustees in 1968, and later the approval of parliament was secured. The trustees of the Iranian universities were appointed by H.I.M. Shahanshah Aryamehr. After the initial formation of the boards, provision was made for the boards to be self-perpetuating. Trustees serve for a term of five years, and can be appointed for not more than two successive terms.

The size of the boards of Iranian universities ranges from ten to 25 members; however, a middle size board of 15 to 17 members is common. Except for the three universities which are located in Tehran, other trustees are non-resident. The committee structure in use is almost entirely ad hoc committees. There is no executive committee to act for boards between the general meetings. Because of this, most of the time the decision-making process is often delayed. By law, the board of trustees of Iranian universities must meet once or twice a year, and they meet once or twice a year unless there is an emergency or when, through hard work, the presidents of the universities can arrange a time appropriate for all of these busy men. The meeting place is not on campus, except for universities located in Tehran, and almost all of the meetings are held in Tehran. Closed meetings are the common practice and the outcomes of the meetings are usually out of the reach of internal and external constituencies unless, of course, the outcome of the meetings carries good news. This secrecy results in many grievances and rumors and deepens the present gap between the boards and other major groups on campus.

The composition of the boards consists of a large number of ex-officio members who are automatically on the board of trustees of universities by virtue of their high office in the Government of Iran. For example, the ex-officio members of the board of trustees of the

Tehran University are: the Prime Minister, the Minister of Imperial Court, the Minister of Science and Higher Education, the Minister of Finance, the General Director of Iranian National Oil Company, the Head of the Plan Organization of Iran, the Chief Secretary of the Recruitment Organization, the President of the Tehran University, and some other Ministers who are advisors to the Prime Minister in various fields. Other universities like the University of Tabriz, Isfahan, Mashad, Gjoundi-Shapur, Aryamehr, and even the National and Pahlavi Universities have a board of trustees along the same line as that of the Tehran University. The main difference is that the Prime Minister is not a member of the boards of other universities. Apart from the ex-officio members of the boards, the second category of members includes leaders in industry, public life, and other fields very important to the national welfare of Iran. Some of the trustees also hold elective office.

Except for a few members, all of the trustees of Iranian universities are highly educated. They have been trained in and hold high academic degrees from colleges and universities of Europe or North America. A majority of members have teaching experience and some of them hold or have held high administrative positions in Iranian colleges and universities, yet almost none of them are educators. They have a political career, a political orientation, and a political inspiration no matter what they have been doing or what they are doing. They are, almost without exception, from elite groups in the society and are wealthy enough to be categorized in the high level of income distribution. Their ages range from 40 to 60 years, with the majority being in the 50 to 60 years bracket. Women occupy a very low percentage of the trustees and there is no provision for faculty and students to become members of the boards. Finally, in terms of composition and qualifications of trustees of Iranian universities, it is relevant to point out that if the businessmen are dominating the trustees of North American universities, in Iran the politicians are the dominant group on boards.

Theoretically, the board of trustees hold similar legal authority as trustees of North American universities. They are autonomous bodies responsible for the management and control of property, business, and other affairs of the universities. They have the power to adopt statutes and other regulations consistent with their legislations or charters. In summary, the boards of trustees of Iranian universities have the following powers and responsibilities:

1. Appointment of administrative officers: the boards have the power and responsibility to select the president and other senior administrative officers.
2. Appointment of faculty: the boards have the power and responsibility to appoint all faculty members on recommendation of the president.
3. Schools and programs: the boards have the power and responsibility to establish new schools and new programs.
4. Degrees: the boards have the power and responsibility to grant degrees.

5. Financial affairs: the boards have the power and responsibility to request and to receive funds from the government and make internal distribution among various segments of the universities.
6. Report: the boards have the responsibility to report annually to the Minister of Science and Higher Education on the present conditions and future plan of the universities.
7. Delegation: the boards have the power to delegate their power to the president and others.

In practice, however, it is quite different. The boards do not really select the presidents, rather they get involved in political negotiations and partisan activities. They delegate a small portion of their power to the presidents, enough only to somehow run the university and limited enough to prevent any innovative and unanticipated decisions. Their conservative political attitudes are against any unpredictable action. There is no formal report to the Minister of Science and Higher Education. Actually, there is no need of this since the Minister himself is a member of the board of trustees of all eight Iranian universities. All of the programs have to be approved by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in terms of their content and the overall feasibility for the whole country. Therefore, in this area again, the boards do not exercise their formal power. The budget of the universities, although it might be reviewed by the boards, has to be approved not by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education but by the Central Budget Office of

Iran which is [illegible]ected to the office of the Prime Minister and whose General Director is one of the assistants to the Prime Minister.

Therefore, in practice, the typical board of trustees of Iranian universities can be described as a gathering of conservative elite politicians who probably know very little about current issues in higher education; who meet once or twice a year in a closed session; who do not communicate with faculty, students, and non-academic personnel of the university; and who hold a great amount of formal authority and yet do not know why they are trustees and what are the real functions associated with the trusteeship of universities.

SUMMARY

The concept of a lay board of trustees as one of the principal participants in the governance of the North American university, which was imported from Europe, is based on the assumption that they ensure the independence of these academic institutions from outside pressures which would threaten their essential freedom. They also represent the mechanism through which the demands and requirements of society at large are communicated to the university and, further, as a result of their initiatives the university gains needed financial support. In particular, the concentration of executive authority in the local board of trustees encourages the rapid expansion of individual universities and facilitates its adoption to the changes and demands of the environment.

The idea of the board of trustees for Iranian universities was imported from the United States on the recommendation of a team of American experts in 1962. The perception of the university as a national political institution, to a large extent influenced the concept of the board of trustees in the Iranian context. This philosophy indicates that the idea of the board of trustees is not based on the assumption of fund raising or buffering outside pressures. The idea is to oversee the work of the university to ensure that it is in accord with the government needs and demands which in itself is a matter of duplicating the work of the central Ministry of Science and Higher Education. It is not, perhaps, a matter of exaggeration to claim that there is a lack of understanding in terms of the philosophy of the concept of the board of trustees in Iranian universities.

These differences in the interpretation of the philosophy of the board are reflected in the differences in the organization, composition, responsibilities, and selection of the board of trustees of North American and Iranian universities. In Iran the composition of the boards consists of a majority of *ex-officio* members who are cabinet ministers or high governmental officials, whereas in North America, board membership includes businessmen, educationists, lawyers, and recently faculty and students. Among four major selection methods, co-optation and appointment by elected state officials are the prevailing methods in North American universities. The way of selecting the board members in Iranian universities is mainly based on the self-perpetuation principle, with the exception of *ex-officio* members.

Organizationally, the average size of the university board of trustees in both cultures is similar. Unlike the board of trustees in Iranian universities who do not have a systematic organizational arrangement, in North America a board usually has at least three standing committees and on the average holds open meetings four times a year. The legal power of the board in both cultures is primarily the same and covers all affairs of the university. Yet, in practice the trustees in North American universities exercise very little of their power while in Iran they do not exercise it at all. The combination of these differences indicates that the board of trustees in North American universities are an active and participant body, and in Iran they are only a symbol of authority.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATORS IN NORTH AMERICAN AND IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

This chapter reviews the functions and characteristics of presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen in North American and Iranian universities. The roles of North American academic administrators will be approached in terms of their historical origin, duties and powers, social characteristics, career and selection, and leadership style. Furthermore, the changes which influence their roles as well as future proposals and trends will be discussed. For Iranian universities, it was realized that any discussion of academic administrators without reference to the meaning of administration in society in general would be misleading; therefore, the role of these academic administrators is placed in the context of the general administration of Iranian society.

It should be recognized that there is a tendency in the literature to ignore the official requirements which define the powers and duties of those who occupy the office of president, academic dean, and department chairman; the prescriptions tend to be based on idealistic assumptions about the scope which academic administrators have for defining their roles. Furthermore, especially in the case of presidents and academic deans, the tendency is to view these offices only in terms of the individual positions of president and academic dean, whereas they actually operate under a form of cabinet which includes various vice-presidents, associates, and assistants (Rourke and Brooks, 1964). Generally, the combination of these two factors seems to contribute to the existing ambiguity in the literature on the role of these three academic administrators.

THE ROLE OF ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATORS IN NORTH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Historical Origin

In contrast to the British tradition with its acceptance of monarchy in the political system of the country and democracy in the university, the governance of early colleges in North American democratic society tended to reflect extreme monarchy. George Schmidt (1957) believes this was because in America:

> . . . the president was a more important figure than the presidents or principals of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, who though their powers were expanding were primarily the senior fellows; and his functions were much broader and more varied than those of the rectors and chancellors of the large European universities (p. 103).

Nevertheless, while in England the chief executive officers of the universities were called "chancellors," in America, Eaton became Harvard's first executive and carried the title "master" which was commonly used in British colleges. His successor Henry Duster in 1640, however, came to be known as president (Thwing, 1926). Other colleges, although they might have started with other titles, gradually began to adopt the same practice. At present, the most popular title in the North American university is president.

In the Pre-Civil War period, college presidents were responsible for carrying out all administrative functions. As might be expected, they were mainly drawn from the rank of clergy and were "usually the principal faculty member, administrator, educator (who personally looked after the welfare and extra-curricular activities of his students), fund raiser, record keeper, and accountant (Schenkel, 1971, p. 13)." In the words of Brubacher and Rudy (1968), when colleges were in their early growth, ". . . the presidency was an exacting and time-consuming responsibility (p. 28)." Ralph Prator (1963) indicates that in the Pre-Civil War period two factors contributed to the growth of the office of president; the heavy reliance of the board of trustees on presidents to assume ". . . executive type of responsibilities," and the fact that presidents were among the few who enjoyed a ". . . permanent membership of the college (pp. 3-4)." The latter factor was also emphasized by Hofstadter and Metzger (1955) who believe that "The only secure and sustained professional office in American collegiate education was that of the college president himself (p. 124)." Perhaps these factors explain why presidents came to be regarded as dominant figures with autocratic power.

After the Civil War there were many changes which affected colleges and universities and their chief executive officers. During the first few decades after the Civil War, the increasing rate of enrollment, the changes in the curriculum, the steady growth in extracurricular activities, and organizational development led university presidents often to assume two distinct roles. They assumed the role of the spokesman for the academic community and they also acted as if they were the manager of a business enterprise (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968). They enjoyed much authority which was delegated to them by boards of trustees and like true entrepreneurs, university presidents built their empires and ruled as directors (Schenkel, 1971).

There is agreement in the literature that the rapid development and growth of the American universities during this period was largely due to the presidents' freedom of action and the vast authority they enjoyed. The literature is full of cases describing the success or failure of these presidents; however, no matter what the consequence of their attempts, they were highly devoted to their universities. Routinely, university presidents had pre-eminent power and it seems with a few exceptions the trend was toward increased presidential authority (Rudolph, 1962).

During this period, growth in the size and complexity of the university made the tasks of the university presidents difficult. To cope with these pressures new administrative positions were created. Therefore, President Eliot at Harvard in 1870, to release himself from academic routines and disciplinary matters, appointed Professor Ephrain Gurney, of the history department, as the first dean of the college (McGinnis, 1956). Twenty years later, in 1890, the deanship was divided into two offices, namely, academic dean and dean of student affairs. This pattern was followed by other colleges and universities in America. In studying the history of the office, McGinnis (1956) pointed out that:

> Aside from the appointment at Harvard . . . the recognition of the need of such an office bore fruit, first at Amherst in 1880; at Yale in 1884, when Dean Wright was appointed; at the University of Chicago in 1892, when a full set of deans was selected; and at Columbia College, in 1896, when Professor Van Amringe was elevated to that office (p. 191).

According to Brubacher and Rudy (1968) the median rate for the appearance of deans was the 1890's. The findings of Deferrari (1957) indicate that while in 1885 only 15 deanships existed, by the turn of the century the office came to be universally accepted as a permanent structural unit in the North American universities.

Among many and varied reasons for the establishment of the dean's office, Ward (1934) points to the major ones:

> Frequently the deanship was established to aid the president. . . . Sometimes it was developed to meet an emergency, such as illness, resignation or death of the president. . . . Often it came about through the reorganization of the institution. . . . In many instances it was created at the opening of the college. . . . In the greatest number of cases, however, it was a logical step in the natural development of the institution (p. 22).

It seems that increased administrative activities of the universities was the prime motive for the establishment of the dean's office.

Along with these developments in the university structure, another organizational unit gradually appeared in the colleges and universities of North America. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the development of knowledge in general and the increased specialization of faculty members in particular led to the establishment of departmental structures in the universities. Brubacher and Rudy (1968) indicate that "the beginnings of departmental organization are easily discernible at both Harvard and the University of Virginia in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (p. 367)."

The early departmental structure, however, had limited similarity to the modern university departments. Usually it consisted of a professor who held the "chair" of a subject and, consequently, others were under his domination.

By the late nineteenth century, autonomous departments were established and Harvard, Columbia, Yale and Princeton, during the 1890-1900 period, moved directly toward departmentalization (Veysey, 1965). Subsequently, as a result of the increased number of the faculty members and the appearance of differentiating ranks among faculty, slight democratization was introduced into departments. Yet, in practice, the chairmanship was still in the hands of the professors who not only ran their department but also represented it in the academic decision-making body of their university. Dressel, Johnson and Marcus (1970) assert that:

> By including in the table of ranks associate professors and professors with permanent appointments, as well as the head professor, the seed for rotating chairmen (the temporarily first among equals) was planted, but not until 1911 was an attempt made to improve the morale of younger faculty by reducing the power of the departmental chairmen (p. 5).

After the 1900's and especially by the 1930's academic administrators seemed to assume new roles. The percentage of presidents who had training as ministers declined to 12 percent (Schmidt, 1930). The presidents' main responsibility came to be the supervision of the university, and their position shifted from having total control over the university and its faculty. Now they were recruited mostly from business and lay people; they were no longer regarded as academic entrepreneurs, rather in the words of Brubacher and Rudy (1968) they were more like "leaders of learning." The delegation of more authority and responsibility to administrative officers, academic deans, and department chairmen tended to be more common. Subsequently, presidents became free to spend more time and energy to raise money and to represent the university to outside groups.

The rapid expansion of the universities since the 1930's and especially after the Second World War, combined with the interferences of outside groups in internal affairs of the campuses, and in conjunction with demonstrations of students and unionization trends in faculty, seemed to bring, in different degrees, substantial changes in the roles of presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen. Morris Keeton (1971), in describing the role of the president, commented that "prior to World War II college presidents typically achieved outstanding results by their powers of charisma, competence and prerogative. As campuses became larger and complex, these resources ceased to suffice, particularly for institutions striving to become excellent in their field (p. 22)." This observation about presidents probably can be applied to academic deans and department chairmen as well.

Duties and Powers

Presidents. In assessing the duties and powers of the office of president, two sources of data can be identified. The first set of data includes the university acts, charters, and statutes which legally define the functions and authority of the office of president.

The second source consists of various writings on the university presidency that almost without exception are directed to the presidents and prescribe the experiences, observations, and wishes of their respective writers of what the duties of a president should be and how much power he should have in order to be successful in directing the university.

From the legal point of view the presidents' duties and responsibilities are as comprehensive as the responsibilities of the boards of trustees. By statute, presidents are the chief executive officers of their university; they are appointed by the boards of trustees, and they hold the office during the pleasure of the boards. They are responsible to the boards of trustees for the total operation of the university and are concerned with the functioning of all aspects of university life. A typical definition of duties and powers of a president, as defined in university acts, charters or statutes, indicates that he has general supervision over and direction of the operation of the university including the academic work, teaching and administrative staff, business affairs, and students of the university. Furthermore, he has other duties and powers which may be assigned to him by the board of trustees from time to time. It is these other duties and powers which prevent any detailed generalization of duties and powers of North American university presidents.

Nevertheless, within the context of these references to the office of university presidents, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (1970) outlines the responsibilities of the university president as follows:

1. The direction of current and long-range planning related to institutional goals, academic programs and teaching approaches, research, public service, enrollment projections, and physical plant development.

2. The development and maintenance of appropriate administrative organization and policy-making structure for the most efficient and effective utilization of institutional resources.

3. The development and maintenance of a personnel system concerned with the recruitment, selection, assignment, supervision, evaluation, and promotion and tenure of all personnel employed by the institution.

4. The preparation and presentation of the financial budget and the allocation and supervision of all appropriated and other funds that finance any activities under the jurisdiction of the college.

5. The development and maintenance of the facilities and equipment necessary for the support of the college's functions (p. 308).

In each of these areas of responsibility there is still further diversity which seems to be an indication that the duties and powers of the office are as varied as the universities and individuals who occupy this office. However, despite this diversity, there is one specific function which probably becomes a major responsibility and is increasingly shared by most university presidents; that is, to create a more democratic structure for the governance of their institutions.

The broad and extensive theoretical duties and powers of the office creates a stereotyped image of the university president who is actually exercising a substantial degree of authority and unchallenged power. The shadow of the famous university presidents of the past to a large extent seems to contribute to this false image

(Lazarsfeld and Thielens, 1958; March, 1966). Against this distorted perception of the president's power in universities, Corson (1960) indicates that presidents devote "40 percent of their time to financial matters. . . . 20 percent to public and alumni relations. . . . 12 percent to problems of physical facilities. . . . 10 percent to general administration. . . . and 18 percent (less than one-fifth) to educational matters. . . (p. 59)." He goes on to conclude that as the university grows in size and complexity, presidents tend to devote less and less time to main concerns which are students, faculty, and the educational program. To the extent that presidents delegate more of their power to other administrative officers, this observation seems to be valid. Generally, however, presidents do influence the decision-making process of their university in specific ways which depend on the size, quality, and tradition of the individual university.

At present university presidents often influence the recruitment of the faculty through the appointment of vice-presidents, academic deans, and sometimes department chairmen. Presidents usually become involved in decisions relative to students and their extra-curricular activities probably in four areas: athletics, discipline, ideological issues, and student government. The role of the university president in student affairs is normally small except in times of emergency (Bolman, 1970; Williams, 1965; Blankenship, 1970).

The control of the budget is a direct means through which presidents influence the quality and quantity of educational programs in the universities. Probably they are the central power in decisions of current and long-range financing of the university (Demerath, Stephens and Taylor, 1967). They may delegate much responsibility to academic deans, department chairmen, and vice-presidents, but they are usually assigned formal responsibility for preparing the annual budget and presenting it for approval to governing boards and legislative bodies. Yet most presidents work closely with a financial officer and this officer may exercise substantial influence over the institution's annual budget. As Glenny (1972) pointed out:

> The general public and the political policy makers are as misled as the faculty and students in thinking that the leadership of a public college or university rests with its president and board. Nor are they the students and faculty (p. 10).
>
> Few realize the extent to which unknowns, within an institution and outside it, really control educational policy. . . . Internally the persons most responsible for the new leadership in both public and nonpublic universities and colleges are those engaged in institutional research and analytical studies, and those who make and manage the budget--business managers (p. 16).

Generally, it seems that the power of the president grows larger in the areas of finance, physical facilities, and public relations. Although the findings of Gross and Grambsch (1974) indicate that presidents are perceived as the most powerful individual in universities, the authority they can exercise over university governance is far more limited than is popularly supposed. These observations are consistent with the interpretation of Cohen and March (1974) who conclude that:

> A president probably has more power than other single individuals but except for a very few cases presidents do not appear to dominate the decision making in their institutions. They face a poorly understood and rather tightly constrained managerial world.

> In that world they contribute important ritual legitimacy to some decisions and they play a significant role in the certification of the status of other participants. Their ability to control decision outcomes is often less than expected by those around them and by themselves (p. 123).

It seems that the theoretical and normative images of duties and powers of university presidents is far from the realities of their actual and descriptive functions and influence.

Academic deans. The diversity of functions and misperception of power is not limited to university presidents alone. In fact the duties and powers of academic deans are subject to the same, if not more, ambiguity. There is a general agreement in the literature that no two deanships are alike and there are almost as many roles as there are deans. John Gould (1964) pointed out that:

> The role of the academic dean in one institution is different, at least in degree if not in kind of responsibility, from that of the dean in every other college or university. Multivarious, it resists description, and this is one reason why--a fair number of books, dissertations, and articles by and about the academic dean nothwithstanding--there is little systematic knowledge of what an academic dean can do, does, or is expected to do by way of leadership (p. 41).

He goes on even to say that the role of the academic dean does not exist, and any attempt to provide normative data of the office is "to chase a will-o'-the-wisp (p. 42)." Four decades ago Ward (1934) admitted that a definition and standardization of the organization and duties of the deans was desirable. At the same time he warned the deans of the shortcomings of such an effort:

> Such a definition should be made by each institution for its own deanship. This procedure would offer sufficient latitude for desirable variation and at the same time preclude excessive standardization of the office. It is generally agreed that while

> a certain amount of standardization would promote improvement in the functioning of the office, a high degree of standardization might nullify all the benefits thus derived.

There are at least three reasons why a clear definition of duties and roles of academic deans is perhaps impossible to detect. The first reason derives out of the diversity of institutions and their administrative organizations. The second one is the human factor which indicates that any definition of the office depends ultimately on who the deans are and how they react to the office as human beings. The last factor is the lack of theory; that is, in the absence of a generally accepted theory of administrative practices, it is difficult to know what duties the dean should have (Horn, 1964).

Because of the lack of uniformity in the organization of the academic dean's office, there are very few empirical studies which deal directly with functions of deans. Reeves and Russel (1929) provide a list of 13 functions which seemed to be commonly shared by most academic deans in their study. Another study by Reeves, et al. (1932), however, refers to the difficulty of identifying the functions of the office:

> The result of this study indicates the probability that, if enough colleges were visited, the range of duties performed by each of the major officers would be found to include the total scope of administrative responsibilities. In other words, if enough colleges are included, the deans will be found to be doing everything done by any administrative officer. . . (p. 86).

There are still other studies which maintain a list of duties for academic deans. Mention can be made of Milner (1936) which provides a list of 20 functions; Finnegan (1951) who conducted his study of the academic deans of Catholic men's colleges; and Higgins' (1946) study of 404 college deans. Generally, there is very little difference between the findings of these studies, except in the case of Higgins who found that the position of academic dean with regard to students seemed to have become supervisory and "coordinative" in many colleges and universities.

The outcome of these studies indicates the relatively slow changes which have taken place in the responsibilities of academic deans prior to the Second World War. After the war, however, there are indications of substantial changes in the duties and roles of academic deans. Traditionally the main concern of the dean was with students and the curriculum. Later faculty and curriculum were his major responsibility, especially after the emergence of the dean of students. And finally, his main interest shifted toward the faculty.

Some writers believe that academic deans as educational administrators deal directly with two distinct groups: the faculty and the students (McGrath, 1947; Woodburne, 1950). Others argue that practically the office of the academic dean is becoming highly detached from day-to-day activities of the students and to some extent of the faculty (McVey and Hughes, 1952; Corson, 1960; Baxter, 1956; Henderson, 1957).

These observations are consistent with Gould's (1964) study of academic deans. His findings indicate that academic deans in larger colleges are primarily concerned with matters of policy, personnel, and budget. Yet, he concludes that:

> In the past year or two, more of the larger college academic dean's time has been devoted to making reports to foundations, the government, and other agencies than used to be; to participating in extra-institutional academic activities out of a sense of institutional or professional obligation; and to solving problems arising out of government-sponsored research, or rather out of the effect which the availability of funds for research in some areas has on people whose interests lie in areas not so blessed with financial ability (p. 38).

It seems that the trend toward more time consuming administrative duties, to a large extent, limits the opportunity for meaningful educational leadership which most writers prescribe for academic deans.

Department chairmen. The duties and powers of department chairmen have not received much scholarly attention in the literature. In fact, except for a few studies, no attempt has been made to research the role of these academic administrators in universities. Nevertheless, in the light of available literature, it seems that there is wide variation in the responsibilities of department chairmen (Doyle, 1953; Corson, 1960), which may be subject to factors such as size, type of institution, field, administrative organization, characteristics of the department chairman himself, and possibly many more. However, Dressel, Johnson and Marcus (1970) indicate that:

> . . . Chairmen initiate action on budget formulation; selection, promotion, and retention of academic staff; faculty salaries; sabbatical leaves; interdepartmental relationships; research grants; educational development and innovation; university committee membership; discipline representation; professional growth; advice to dean on departmental matters . . . departmental meetings . . . student advising; class scheduling . . . and curriculum changes (p. 13).

This observation is consistent with the findings of Hill and French

(1967) who looked at the functions of department chairmen from a different angle; that is, through "the power instruments available to chairmen (p. 551)."

The power of department chairmen is as varied as the duties they perform. Some writers believe that despite these variations, generally department chairmen have a significant influence on budgeting, staffing, planning, reporting, and directing research. Furthermore, that chairmen, to a large degree, have control over class schedules and instructional and departmental assignment (Heiges, 1955; Riesman, 1956). On the other hand, Hill and French (1967) report that "professors consider departmental chairmen as having less influence than any other group in the colleges, even less than the professors (p. 555)." The authors argue that chairmen are subject to pressures from faculty and higher administrators.

The decreased power of chairmen is largely supported by Gross and Grambsch (1974), who found that department chairmen are perceived to be the least of all power holders in the universities. Yet, an opposite observation is drawn by Dressel, Johnson and Marcus (1970) who conclude that "Despite departmental variations based on priorities and faculty orientation, faculty members still seek the chairman's advice and influence on matters that trouble them (p. 83)." Such lack of agreement makes it difficult to draw any meaningful generalizations about the duties and powers of department chairmen from the literature.

Social Characteristics

For a better understanding of the career pattern of presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen some major characteristics including age, academic degree, field of study, and term of their office were chosen for examination. A review of the literature revealed that probably no information is available with regard to the characteristics of department chairmen.

Presidents. A general description of social characteristics of American university presidents shows that they are ". . . most commonly middle-aged, married, male, white, protestant academics from a relatively well-educated, middle-class, professional-managerial, native-born, small-town, family background (Cohen and March, 1974, p. 7)." The authors go on to indicate that presidents ". . . represent, in social terms, a conventional elite group for the general population of the American college and university students and faculty. There are numerous exceptions to the general pattern (p. 8)." In the absence of empirical data, it was assumed that this generalization could also be applied to presidents of Canadian universities.

Earlier and more recent studies of presidents both indicate that since the turn of the twentieth century there have been only very slight changes in the average age of the presidents. These writings show that the average age of university presidents is in the range of 45 to 53 years (Hughes, 1940; Charters, 1933; Ingraham, 1968; Ferrari, 1970; Hodgkinson, 1971a; Cohen and March, 1974). Furthermore, these data indicate that those presidents who are under

40 or above 70 years of age represent only a small portion of university presidents. The term of office of presidents is quite varied among institutions. There are no data available to indicate the average legal term which presidents are required to stay in office. Recent writings show that the number of years presidents had been in office decreased between 1900-1970 from 11 to six years (Kerr, 1970b; Selden, 1960).

Holding doctorate degrees is increasingly one of the characteristics of university presidents. According to Ingraham (1968), Ferrari (1970) and Cohen and March (1974) the three fields of humanities, education and social science seem to be the main sources from which university presidents are recruited. Harold Hodgkinson (1971a) believes that:

> One gets the impression that social science training is becoming the "academically respectable" prerequisite for the public presidency that the humanities are and always have been for the private institutions. Training in education seems inappropriate for presidents of all Ph.D. granting institutions, regardless of public or private designation, due in no small way to the lack of respectability within academic circles, especially in universities, of the study of education per se (p. 276).

In addition to the standard academic degree, university presidents have previous academic experiences. Bolman's (1965) study shows that in his sample 96 percent of presidents had less than five years of experience outside the academic community. This pattern has been validated by other writers before and after 1965 (Knode, 1944; Ingraham, 1968; McVey and Hughes, 1952; McDonagh and others, 1970). Michael Ferrari (1970) pointed out that this pattern is also consistent with available information on other administrators, such as business executives and military commanders as far as their work experience is concerned. Two major effects of academic background of presidents are noted by Cohen and March (1974):

> First, it means that they have some close attitudinal and personal ties with the academic establishment; they consider themselves part of the academic community--most typically the faculty. Second, it means that the presidency is the capstone of their career. Despite all the jokes about it, the presidency is the highest status position that one can reach within the academic community. It is the end of a natural chain of promotion within an academic organization (p. 16).

Perhaps one conclusion from these writings is the clear indication that North American university presidents are academic administrators in terms of their backgrounds and orientations.

Academic deans. Very few studies are available for the social characteristics of academic deans. An indication of what may be called either ignorance or lack of significant relationship between the characteristics of academic deans and their role in college and university governance. The existing data from two major studies by Ward (1934) and Gould (1964) indicate that deans as a group are mature individuals in the age bracket of 45 to 55 years. Academically, the majority of academic deans are Ph.D. holders and generally they rank high among their colleagues. Merle Ward (1934) pointed out that a very low percentage of deans come " . . . from the fields of the Ancient Languages, Mathematics, and Religions . . . (p. 45)." John Gould (1964) reported 24 different subject disciplines for academic deans, but he concluded that the most representation was from the humanities.

Although no research has been reported on the term of appointments to the office of academic dean, Ward (1934) and Gould (1964) respectively report the average years deans have spent in office as 8.5 and 11.5.

Department chairmen. This researcher was unable to locate information about the social characteristics of department chairmen. With regard to their term of office, Woodburne (1958) reports that:

> A considerable number of chairmen have indicated that a five-year term is the shortest period in which any constructive work could be accomplished. The same group has said also that a term longer than ten years may freeze the program of the department just when new ideas or course arrangements are needed (p.47).

Career and Selection

It is generally agreed that no clear career line exists for those who are interested in becoming academic administrators in colleges and universities. Furthermore, it is also agreed in the literature that perhaps no definite and clear cut route to these positions is necessary since the hierarchy of administrative promotions is somewhat different from other professions. Therefore, it should be noted that the writings on this topic are centred around the question of how university presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen arrived at these positions, rather than prescribing a career route for them.

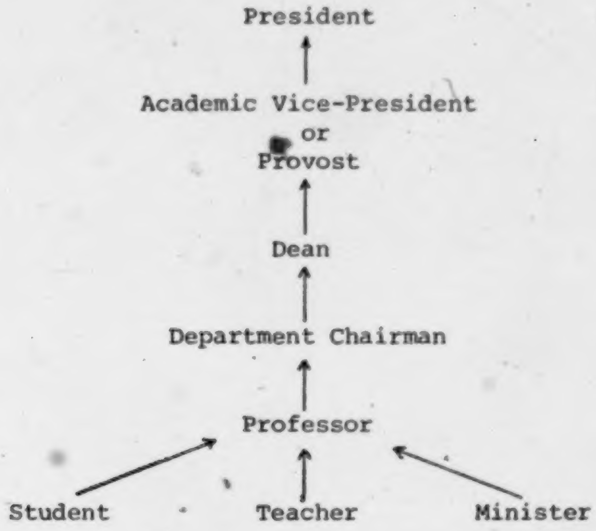
Presidents. The fact that most university presidents in the past were drawn from the rank of ministers may lead to a conclusion that the best place to start a career line toward the presidency was in the ministry. However, the academic background of recent university presidents is so varied that this kind of conclusion seems to be very simplistic. In fact, various studies by Bolman (1965), Ingraham (1968), Henderson (1960), and Stimson and Forslund (1970), conclude that the career line for the presidency is theoretically problematic and practically non-existent. David Riesman (1970) claims that "the career of the presidents seems to be a ladder with almost no rungs . . . (p. 78)." To the extent that he limits the presidential career within a ladder is probably an indication that individuals can move up to the presidency in straight line progression. Yet, he goes on to say that "There is no genuine career line, either in preparing for the role or in creating a rhythm of movement within it and, eventually, out of it again (p. 79)." His observation is also supported by findings of Hodgkinson (1971a) who suggests that the mobility of university presidents seems to be horizontal rather than vertical. He concludes that:

> . . . 'working your way up' doesn't seem to be terribly appropriate as a goal for a presidential aspirant. It would probably be better for him to go out, take an advanced degree--probably in education or perhaps in social science--and then seek a position in a public institution, particularly in a community college. In the private-sectarian area, the presidential candidate should perhaps take work in the humanities with particular emphasis on religion or theology, and keep his fingers crossed (p. 275).

In contrast to these general observations, Ferrari (1970) seems to argue that career lines for university presidents do exist. He indicates that:

> . . . The career lines of academic presidents clearly run through educational and professional categories; no more than 10 percent spent an appreciable number of years in either business, government, or military service. These individuals made their way in the professions and used the educational arena as the means of upward or lateral occupational mobility rather than business or government (p. 82).

Generally, there are two identifiable routes to the presidential office in North American universities; that is, either horizontal or vertical, or a combination of the two. The vertical path consists of a hierarchy of administrative positions. The hierarchy indicates that the president seems to start from a teaching position in a university and moves up through a series of "administrative filters." According to Cohen and March (1974), "The standard promotional hierarchy for American academic administrators is a six-rung ladder (p. 20)."



Not all university presidents, of course, have followed these steps systematically up to the office. But, despite the variation created when some presidents bypass one or more of these steps, recent studies show this route is a common career path for presidents. Michael Ferrari (1970) believes that "In general, it can be said that the career patterns of college and university presidents have proved to be more striking in their similarities than in their differences (p. 108)."

The horizontal route refers to the fact that presidents do not necessarily go through the presidential career path in one institution; rather the likelihood is that they move from one university to another. The findings of Ferrari (1970) indicate that presidents, in his sample, were full-time faculty members or administrators at about three institutions, including the one they served as its chief executive officer. It has been argued, however, that because of "side consequences" the horizontal route is really a hierarchical promotion toward the presidency. From this point of view, Cohen and March (1974) believe " . . . that the career path to the presidency is a fairly well-defined ladder with a relatively large number of rungs (p. 23)."

On the basis of this information a university president generally can be considered an insider rather than someone coming from outside. The route to the presidency of North American universities seems to be a long period of learning and experience through which presidents identify with the values of the academic community by way of an understanding of the nature and organization of higher learning institutions. Michael Ferrari (1970) shows that it takes at least 20 years, from the time of first full-time job, for presidents to arrive at the office. The outcome of this period of learning and experience, in terms of the social background of presidents, seems to be the selection of a chief executive officer who is probably more acceptable to the internal and external constituencies of the universities.

From the early twentieth century there were strong arguments around the issue of selecting university presidents. In fact, Hart (1914) argues that ". . . a democratic organization of the university would demand that the people of the state, represented by the board of control; the faculty represented by a committee elected by themselves; and the student body, represented by a committee chosen the same way, should have a share in the selection of the president (p. 98)." There are also indications that faculty members did actually participate in selecting a new university president (Bretz, 1939). Two studies of 228 institutions by AAUP in 1939 and 1953 show that in 1939 approximately 25 percent of these institutions had consulted faculty members in selecting a new president. However, in 1953 this ratio increased to 47 percent (Ward, 1955). Furthermore, Bolman (1965) reported that faculty in 65 percent of the academic institutions in his sample were formally involved in the process of selecting a new president and in others some informal consultation was considered to be common. Morris Keeton (1971) shows that "In the choice of president a number of campuses visited had increased, within the past decade, the role of faculty, students, or other constituents in the processes of nomination, screening, and recommendation for appointment (p. 104)."

The selection of university presidents is one of the most important functions of the board of trustees. Since no single procedure can fit all universities, a general "check-list" is provided by Bolman (1965):

1. Appointment of an acting president.
2. Analysis of the institution.
3. Analysis of the president's role.
4. Appointment of a committee of the board to conduct the search for a president.
5. Appointment of a faculty advisory committee.
6. Joint meetings of the trustees and faculty advisory committee.
7. Securing nominations for the presidency.
8. Initial screening of nominees.
9. Final screening of nominees before interviews.
10. Initial interviews with 'semifinalists.'
11. Additional interviews with 'finalists.'
12. Final recommendation by the trustees' committee and the faculty advisory committee.
13. Final action by the board of trustees.
14. Announcement of the election of the new president.
15. A review of the procedure used (pp. 47-51).

The interpretation of details and the implementation of this process is, of course, subject to the individual university and individuals who are involved in the process of selecting a new president.

Academic Deans. It is generally accepted that the recruitment of academic deans is mostly from among faculty members. Beyond this, however, there is no indication of a systematic study of career patterns for academic deans. Max Marshall (1956) believes that "no path leads certainly to a deanship, but the gravitational pull is evident (p. 637)." This "gravitational pull" is what each individual writer believes to be the most important qualification for academic deans. Harold Enarson (1962) argues that:

> The academic dean is not trained in any sense for the job. He may have served an apprenticeship as assistant to the president; more commonly he will have been a successful departmental chairman or dean of a college. In any event he is picked because it is felt, always on the basis of too little evidence, that he has administrative ability (p. 69).

This view is shared by Gould (1964) when he describes the obstacles academic deans face when they occupy the office:

1. The need to gain the confidence and respect of the faculty.
2. The need to learn the nature of the job and the character of its formal and informal organization.
3. The need to learn how to change the status quo without upsetting useful elements therein.
4. The need to be objective, fair-minded, and college-wide in point of view.
5. The need to divorce oneself from deadly paper work, trivia, and delegatible routine (p. 87).

In the absence of a definable career line for academic deans, it seems that the experience as a faculty member and department chairman is essential and desirable.

Since there is no clearly defined career route for academic deans, the selection method has usually been arbitrary. The presence of chance in selecting an academic dean is documented in Little's (1930) study. He argues that:

> Once or twice in a generation a great humanitarian like former Dean Briggs of Harvard lights up the lives and hearts of hundreds of students, but his appearance is a miracle, a kindness of nature, and not to be called forth by the routine methods or plans of men. It is safer and saner to try to develop a 'fool proof' method, producing a less miraculous but more certain solution of the problem (p. 66).

Since that day, many methods have been used by various universities to secure an acceptable dean for both faculty and administrators (Davis, 1950). One method is to select the academic dean by a committee of the faculty with the understanding that the appointment of the selected dean by the president and board of trustees will follow automatically. Another way is through the establishment of a combined committee from faculty and the board of trustees. The third method is the exclusion of faculty from the selection process and to use the judgment of the president alone which follows with the final appointment by the board of trustees. Still other alternatives exist, such as seeking faculty recommendations as a committee or as a whole body, and various combinations of these methods. Although Gould (1964) indicates that 68 percent of deans are selected and appointed by presidents and boards of trustees, it is commonly observable tht faculty voice, through formal and informal consultation or vote, is increasingly evident. Furthermore, recently the seeking of formal and informal participation of students in the selection of academic administrators seems to be a common practice.

Department chairmen. The career pattern of department chairmen is through the ranks of the academic hierarchy with the assumption that senior faculty members are more likely to become chairmen than junior ones. John Millett (1962) believes in two extreme methods for securing a department chairman. He argues that:

> The department chairman may be appointed by the president upon nomination by a dean, or he may be elected by members of the department. Each selection process has its faults and its

> virtues. Appointment after careful consultation with members of the department seems the preferable practice (p. 89).

Dressel, Johnson and Marcus (1970) show that the most typical method for selecting department chairmen is through appointment by the dean who automatically accepts the recommendation of the department, probably prepared by a committee. The membership of the selecting committee may vary from university to university and sometimes between the departments at the same institution. Generally, however, these committees are composed of representatives from faculty members, central administration and students.

Style of Leadership

Most writers refer to the diversity of academic institutions in North America. Indeed it is quite evident that the purpose, history, and organization of each university is probably different in important respects from other universities. This diversity among universities rejects the assumption of applying one single pattern of administration to all of them. Furthermore, within each university the leadership style of academic administrators may be quite different from each other. Many factors may influence the leadership style of academic administrators. The size of the university, tradition, administrative organization, personality, and objectives are but a few factors which seem to have a bearing on the leadership opportunities of presidents, academic deans and department chairmen. Consequently, any generalization about leadership style is subject to modification in light of these factors; however, an analysis of major alternative styles may prove to be useful.

Presidents. Most writings on the leadership style of presidents have been influenced by the assumption that organizationally universities can be described as bureaucratic, collegial, and/or political entities. Upon identifying the university organization as one or a combination of these models, each writer then prescribes a style of leadership for presidents which he thinks is the most suitable. Therefore, Henderson (1970) identifies four types of leaders as "directive (authoritarian), permissive, group participative, and laissez-faire (p. 225)." And he goes on to favor the group participative model. Harold Dodds (1962) indicates that in order to preserve the office, presidents should assume more educational leadership and less routine administrative responsibilities. An opposite argument is presented by Perkins (1966) who believes that while ". . . it is true that the president and dean must not be too vigorous in throwing their weight around, the role of university president as bashful educational leader is mostly nonsense and greatly overplayed (p. 81)." The famous "multiversity" and its chief executive officer as "mediator" or non-initiator of action which was introduced by Kerr (1963) is rejected by Bell (1971) who argues that ". . . president needs to be active and cool and aware of the ideological currents that are running so swiftly in the schools (p. 170)."

The major points of these and other studies indicate that presidents are not supposed to suppress conflict but rather to encourage it to the point where the university is constantly in a state of unstable and uneasy equilibrium. The university president should administer without ever managing. If he fails to make decisions the university will either lose greatness or never achieve it. If he leaves decision-making to committees, of which there are many in the university and all eager to make decisions, the university will become mediocre. If a president makes any decision which others believe they should have made, he will see the best of university personnel move to other institutions.

From this vantage point, some writers believe that the president should view the university as an evolutionary and dynamic institution in which the forces of innovation and enthusiasm must be balanced by his own administrative skills. Therefore, he must be ready to share the authority which he does not possess; to make decisions that he really cannot make; and he must understand and appreciate many varying academic disciplines even while his own are becoming obsolescent because of lack of time to read and to do research. Through all this, university presidents should maintain their enthusiasm and continue to provide leadership without even having the final say (McConnell, 1968; Bolton and Jenck, 1971; Carmichael, 1970; Wriston, 1959; Moore, 1969; Walberg, 1969).

A more recent and systematic approach toward leadership style of university presidents is documented by Cohen and March (1974). They define eight governance models for universities, namely, "competitive market"; "administration"; "collective bargaining"; "democracy"; "consensus"; "anarchy"; "independent judiciary"; and "plebiscitary autocracy (pp. 37-38)." They argue that probably the more accurate models for university governance are competitive market, independent judiciary, and anarchy. This argument does not agree with the general trend in the literature which tends to move away from collegial and bureaucratic models toward political model (Foster, 1968; Baldridge, 1971b; Hodgkinson, 1971b; Hodgkinson, 1970; Wise, 1970; Corson, 1969; Bowen, 1969; Simon, 1967).

Nevertheless, Cohen and March (1974) believe that the ". . . conventional management wisdom" which identifies presidents as ". . . administrators, mediators, political leaders, neighborhood chairmen, or some combination of these roles . . . will make university leadership less effective than it might be (p. 40)." They argue that the new leadership style in universities calls for "entrepreneur," "catalyst," "judge," and "philosopher king."

Academic deans. It is generally agreed that the role of academic dean is to serve as a bridge between faculty and administrators. The very nature of the dual role of academic deans requires harmonization of academic and administrative aspects of his responsibilities. The very nature of the academic dean's position may lead to a problem which, as Duff and Berdahl (1966) report, is "not difficult to describe but is nearly impossible to solve on any permanent basis (p. 93)." Yet, even in describing the role of academic deans, idealistic views and subjective opinions are so numerous that any attempt at generalization would probably be misleading.

Joh. Millett (1962), declares that the academic ". . . dean is expected to be the spokesman of the faculty to the administration of a university, and at the same time the outpost of the administrations in conveying an understanding of general university point of view (p. 92)." Referring to the academic dean's dual responsibility, he goes on to say that:

> Usually the dean is more than this. He does not issue orders to departments or faculty members, but he stands as a symbol of their collegial responsibility. He is a reminder to all the faculty members of a college or school of their common purpose and common interest. To the extent that he can articulate this common purpose and can win adherence to it, the dean has fulfilled an essential role in the academic process (p. 93).

Other writers describe the role of the academic dean in terms of his functions (Koch, 1962; Devane, 1964). Harold Enarson (1962) identifies the academic dean as budgeteer, personnel officer, academic planner, innovator, coordinator, lightning rod, and majority leader.

A slightly different approach has been adopted by Fishman (1963) and Rosenheim (1963). The latter writer calls for ". . . an advocate, a defender, a spokesman, an enforcer, an innovator--in short a leader (p. 227)." Similarly, Cleveland (1960) claims that the role of the academic dean is the "leadership of equals." Most of these observations are consistent with Gould's distinction between "positional" and "personal" authority of the academic deans. John Gould (1964) argues that the academic dean "makes a distinction between the authority which is his by virtue of his office and the authority which is his by virtue of his success in persuading others to see things from his point of view (p. 71)."

Generally, Meeth (1971) outlines four alternative major roles for academic deans which he believes "have emerged in the literature and in the life styles of men who have occupied the position (p. 46)." The first role is when the dean regards faculty as employees rather than partners and acts as "autocrat." Having the power delegated by the president, he ignores the faculty and exercises full authority on academic matters. He acts more like a politician and the head of faculty, rather than being a leader. In this definition of the role, the question is whether the autocrat dean and his emphasis on efficiency is worth the ignorance of relating the faculty to the central administration which ultimately decreases the efficiency of the university. According to Meeth (1971), ". . . still a large number operate in this fashion particularly in smaller institutions (p. 46)."

The second possible role for the academic dean is to act as the "faculty servant." In assuming this role, the academic dean functions as if he is the defender of his faculty before the president and the board. Therefore, he becomes more and more conservative in his job and his primary interest would be to preserve his status quo. Change seldom takes place in the institution under this model of deanship. "Academic leader," constitutes the third alternative. Here, the dean has an independent position with the understanding that he needs the support of both the president and the faculty. This role depends heavily on the personality of the academic dean. Therefore, depending upon the issue the academic dean might forget his neutrality and adopt a definite position in favor of one side or the other.

The last possible model for the role of the academic dean is "change agent." Because of disadvantages of the other three models, Meeth (1971) argues that the academic dean as a change agent can harmonize the relationships between faculty and administration. This role is a combination of the other three roles and provides enough flexibility for the academic dean to perform his tasks. He can identify the critical problems to the institution, he does not act without reference to the president and the faculty.

Department chairmen. Departments are increasingly initiating most academic and administrative decisions in the universities; some writers believe the real hierarchy of decision-making in universities starts from the bottom to the top. It seems no matter what the arguments are the academic department can be considered the most important structural unit of the university. The role of department chairman as the administrative heads of these units is probably very vital yet ambiguous. In describing the role of the department chairman, Millett (1962) asserts that:

> He must settle or adjust disputes among departmental members. He must guide his colleagues in their decision making. He must place departmental objectives above those of any individual member. He must serve as a link between department and school or college. He must build for long-term growth and eminence in departmental reputation among other colleges and universities (p. 89).

Neal Gross (1963) adds another attribute; that is, if the department chairman "attempts to exert strong leadership, he can usually expect negative reactions from faculty members. If he is a first-rate scholar or research person, he typically cannot wait to get out of his administrative chores. If he is not, he does not command the respect of his academic colleagues (p. 66)."

The leadership style of department chairmen according to Ryan (1972) can take two forms. The first model is the "headship" role which is manifested in dictatorship and oligarchy; the second role derives from the collegial nature of academic departments and necessitates democratic participation in decision-making by the faculty. But, perhaps, there are many department chairmen who assume such roles which fall between these two extremes. Dressel, Johnson and Marcus (1970) describe three leadership styles for department chairmen. "The doers" are the first type of department chairmen. It seems this type usually is a loner who does everything by himself and probably because of lack of leadership ability hides behind routine work of the department.

The second type or "the delegators" are found to be most common among department chairmen. They not only share with the faculty in the decision-making process of the department through committee structure, but they also delegate some of their responsibilities to the faculty members. This style of leadership seems to generate faculty confidence in chairmen. Subsequently, as Dressel, Johnson and Marcus (1970) point out "If a chairman had the confidence of his faculty, he was able to do things in an informal manner which might otherwise need to be delegated in some formal manner (p. 26)." Finally, "the dalliers" constitute the third type. This type of chairman usually follows a "laissez-faire" style of leadership and consequently in the presence of a loose structure many activities of the department are undone. The serious effect of this style in the long run seems to decrease the effectiveness of the department.

Changes Which Influence the Role of Academic Administrators

The extent to which academic administrators may assume a different role from that of the past depends on many changes which seem to have become part and parcel of university governance in North America. The number and rapidity of these changes are so numerous that probably no single role pattern is reliable enough to be pursued by academic administrators for any long period of time. Yet these changes are in existence and they probably require different leadership styles from what academic administrators have been used to.

Size and complexity can be described as the first source of change in universities. It is no secret today that the main concern of academic administrators is largely institutional expansion and operating efficiency (Clark, 1968). It is also evident that the logic of expansion and efficiency led universities toward more bureaucratization and impersonality. As a consequence, according to Duryea (1973), academic "administrators find their managerial tasks so consuming that they become forgetful of the nature of the academic enterprise (p. 35)." Recent studies of university presidents, academic deans and department chairmen support this observation and indicate that not only are these academic administrators quite busy but they are busy, perhaps, in varying degree for the wrong reasons (Perkins, 1967).

The second major change is financial implication of growth and expansion which makes universities more and more dependent on external support, especially from provincial and federal governments. Universities now are subject to "close scrutiny by government officals (Lunsford, 1968, p. 7)," perhaps more than in any other period of their history. As a result the concept of accountability is now a familiar tool for academic administrators to defend themselves against internal pressures of various constituencies. The pressure for efficiency, of the type evident in the business and government, intensifies the existing arbitrary separation between faculty and academic administrators.

At the same time, the increased outside influence on the internal affairs of universities has resulted in a division of labor among the administrators in general and academic administrators in particular. More and more academic administrators identify themselves with outside activities to achieve essential support from and coordination with other agencies. These activities may develop to a point where sometimes it seems that they have more concerns in common with legislatures, trustees, alumni, federal officials, and other outside groups than with faculty and students.

The external pressure on universities has been matched by increased faculty and student power which further reinforces the separation of faculty, students and administrators. As a consequence academic administrators can no more claim to have access to meaningful knowledge and understanding of current attitudes of faculty and students. Terry Lunsford (1968) believes that the informal relationship between faculty and administrators has been replaced by a formal and bureaucratic one ". . . which engendered and sustained the trust necessary for an easy exercise of administrative authority. . . . Radical shrinkage of informal contacts has also reduced the actual knowledge that administrators have of faculty and students--and *vice versa* (p. 8)."

These changes combined with the trend toward faculty unionization seem to alter the role of academic administrators in various degrees at different levels of administration.

Proposals and Future Trends

Various problems in the offices of academic administrators have been the subject of numerous proposed solutions. These comments are centred more around the functions, selection, tenure, characteristics, and qualifications of these academic administrators. Furthermore, except in a few cases, most of the proposals for academic administrators are directed toward administration as a group rather than as specific recommendations for university presidents, academic deans, or department chairmen alone. A few examples of the more frequently proposed changes include decentralization of authority (Stoke, 1959; Wriston, 1959); separation of functions (Rourk and Brooks, 1964); delegation of authority (Demerath, Stephens and Taylor, 1967; Ingraham, 1968); and move toward consensus and shared interests (Backrach and Baratz, 1962; Keeton, 1971).

Even in those few studies which deal separately with the role of presidents, academic deans and department chairmen, it seems there is no specific proposal directly related to the role of these academic administrators. Probably this level of generality is mainly due to the present ambiguity which surrounds the role of the presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen in the governance of North American universities.

One exception to this general trend, however, is found in proposals of Pattillo and Mackenzie (1966) and Bolton and Jenck (1971) who suggest the establishment of a second office at the level of presidency. This office would be concerned only with the board of trustees and external relations of the university; as a result, the first presidential office would have more time to spend on internal matters of the campus. The same recommendation is also proposed by Meeth (1971) for the office of the academic deans in larger universities. To the extent that some of the external activities of academic administrators are increasingly related to internal affairs of the university, this proposal does not generate support in the literature.

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) points to the rôle of university presidents in cases of emergency when immediate action is necessary and makes a distinction between the role of the presidents in making policy decisions and in the implementation of those policies. It seems, in the latter case, the sharing of authority with other constituencies is preferable and in the former the exercise of more authority by academic administrators is desirable. Therefore, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) recommends that presidents assume "active leadership"; to safeguard the use of authority; it states that:

> Boards may wish to consider the establishment of stated review periods for presidents so that withdrawal by the president or reaffirmation of the president may be managed in a more effective manner than is often now the actual situation. Faculty members and students should be associated in an advisory capacity with the process of review as they are in the initial appointment (p. 38).

However, "active leadership" can be understood only in comparison to passive leadership. But this may have different meaning for each individual president, academic dean, and department chairman.

Although the latest published study of university presidents in America by Cohen and March (1974) furnishes numerous data which provides more understanding of the office and individual presidents, their conclusion only adds to the present ambiguity. They assert that:

> The world may collapse tomorrow; it may not. The university may survive another ten years; it may not. The differences are important, and the problems are serious. But the outcomes do not much depend on the college president. He is human. His capabilities are limited, and his responsibility is limited by his capabilities. We believe there are modest gains to be made by making some changes in the perception of his role. We believe presidents can be more effective and more relaxed. We do not believe in magic (p. 5).

The conclusion may ease the minds of many university presidents for a short time; however, it offers no concrete suggestion as to how academic administrators can become more effective.

Most of the proposals are consistent with the general trend. Gross and Grambsch (1974) conclude that ". . . with some exceptions, all the role groups (faculty, deans, students, etc.) are believed to have increased their power, pointing to a situation of reduced alienation, of greater ability to enlist the help of others in the achievement of one's own ends (p. 205)." This is mainly based on a period of quiet on campus and seems to be hardly a definite or well-established trend considering the issues of collective bargaining, financial problems of growth, and outside pressures for efficiency.

Generally, it seems that the authoritarian emphasis in the role of academic administrators is not accepted and there is a distinct reaction; that is, a move toward a more democratic approach and general sharing of their power. Perhaps, as Hodgkinson (1971a) pointed out, this trend ". . . has greater survival benefits than that of the 'shake-'em-up' president, who usually has a brilliant but short career (p. 22)." To a large extent his comments are applicable to the academic deans and department chairmen.

PERSPECTIVE ON ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATORS IN IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

Among many available definitions, Litchfield (1959) defines ". . . administration as a process consisting of definable steps performed with reference to the functions of policy preparation, management of resources, and execution either by an individual or a group (P. 491)." Any attempt to apply this definition to administration in the Iranian social context seems to be impossible. In fact, for that setting administration might be defined more realistically as a process consisting of arbitrary and undefinable steps performed with only slight reference to the functions of policy preparation, management of resources, and execution by an individual. From this point of view, the individual and his personality are the main elements in any definition of administration in Iran. From a political perspective, Jacobs (1966) believes that "Iranians prefer to accommodate organization to people rather than vice versa (p. 29)." Subsequently, organizational rules and regulations are meaningless and the wishes and the wills of individuals in authority positions seem to be dominant. To this point Gable (1959) argues that in a people oriented society as Iran:

> The consequence for government and administration is that organizations tend to be unsystematic, lacking in rational structure and highly personal. Organizations are seen in terms of persons, bearing certain status and prestige, rather than being viewed as a set of relationships between various duties and responsibilities which are entrusted to individuals. The position concept of organization and job classification is little understood.
>
> Administrative practices and procedures are built largely on personal and subjective bases. Decisions are often made because of personal relationships. Objectivity does not seem to guide policy or procedure (p. 415).

It is in light of this very short yet general and broad description of administration that the role of academic administrators in Iranian universities is discussed.

Throughout the previous chapters reference was made to the central role of the Iranian government in education in general and its substantial interests in higher education in particular. From this point of view the office of university presidents has been regarded as a highly prestigious position, and only high ranking government officials were regarded as qualified enough to occupy the office. The university presidents have been recruited from among the most prestigious, powerful, wealthy, and educated sub-groups within the elites of the Iranian society. It was not unusual practice to have the king as the honorary president of colleges and universities; a custom which even today is a common practice regardless of other changes which have taken place. The presidential office has been perceived as another position in the hierarchical structure of society and the power and influence of presidents has been related to their relative closeness to the Imperial Court.

From the beginning, the office of president in Iranian colleges was a single man administration. Unlike the presidents of early American colleges and universities, they were not involved in recruiting the faculty or in keeping student records, rather these functions were regarded as inferior activities which had to be performed by low status clerks. Apart from their ability to raise money from the court, their main function was general supervision of the institution and to a large extent the representation of a symbol of formal authority.

After the establishment of the first modern university in 1934 some slight changes were observable, in particular the president seemed to be more involved in the affairs of the university. Due to the shortage of qualified academic personnel it was not unusual for a president to teach a few courses. The fund raising function was reduced due to the establishment of a law for regular financial support from the government for universities. University presidents assumed the responsibility of building up the cornerstone of a system of higher education; yet, their political aspirations, individualism, and authoritarian attitudes remained the same.

The emergence of the academic deanship and the departmentalization of subject matter is a relatively recent innovation in Iranian universities. The idea of deanships if Iran derives out of the practice of professor-chair in each subject. Gradually, as universities grew in size and complexity, faculties were established with individuals appointed as the head of the faculty. In 1962, upon the recommendation of the University of Pennsylvania Survey Team (1960), Pahlavi University organized its instructional staff "into departments representing specific fields of study, each with a chairman appointed by the president on the recommendation of the Dean of the School with which the department is associated and of the Provost (p. 38)." Other universities, beginning from 1968, started to move toward departmentalized organization.

Duties and Powers

Unlike their counterparts in North America, the legal duties and powers of presidents in Iran are not documented by the statutes of the universities. Generally, such statements as to "guide the university toward excellence and to lead students so that they become a good citizen" are common. Apart from these general statements nobody really knows, including presidents, what their legal responsibilities are. Consequently, they themselves attempt to define their duties and devise policies and structures to carry them out.

The personal goals of the individual president may become the informal as well as the formal goals of the university. Almost without exception the formation of these personal goals includes political aspirations; these aspirations are manifested in the president's attempts to keep the campus quiet and calm. Any sign of dissent or disruption on the part of any group or individual is considered as a threat to the university, which is also a threat to the future political mobility of the president. Furthermore, it seems that secondary goals achieve primary importance. Construction of buildings, holding ceremonies and international scientific conferences, and inviting H.I.M. Shahanshah Aryamehr to the campus are perceived by the presidents to be the main duties of the office, no matter what the quality and quantity of education in the universities. From this perspective and in contrast to the findings of Cohen and March (1974) for American presidents, the success of Iranian university presidents is not ambiguous, rather it clearly lies in the displaying of physical development and continuation of quiet on campus, no matter how he achieves these goals.

The legal power of university presidents in Iran seems to be based in limited delegation of authority from the board of trustees and, therefore, is mainly related to the internal day-to-day affairs of the university. In fact, Sadeghy (1972) indicates that in Iran "The university president has limited authority in goal achievement and decision-making (P. 213)." However, this observation and the restriction of presidents' powers to routine affairs of the university does not necessarily mean that they do not have real power or that they are not perceived as powerful. On the contrary, in the absence of any other internal decision-making body in Iranian universities, the presidents are in a position to hold a substantial degree of authority. As a result, universities are known by their presidents and, according to the previous positions of the presidents, universities can be rank-ordered in importance. A university with a president who was a former Cabinet Minister or former Prime Minister is perceived to be far more important and prestigious than a university whose chief executive officer had lower governmental positions. In this regard, the academic reputation and academic excellence, if any, of universities is viewed as a secondary or even tertiary criterion.

The importance of quiet on campus is so great that selective delegation of authority is not unusual; frequently one of the most important duties of the academic deans becomes helping the president to keep the campus quiet. The delegation of authority is so minimal and the resistance to accept explicit responsibility is so high that it seems the power and duties of academic deans follows the same pattern as that of presidents. To show the magnitude of this trend in Iranian universities, mention can be made of an incident in Pahlavi University. During the academic year 1968-69, while the president was out of the country for an official visit, student demonstrations reached the point where students occupied the main buildings and practically, but not officially, the university was closed. No attempt was made by other academic administrators to cope with the problem, on the grounds that they had neither the authority nor the responsibility for any action. So, the university remained closed and the president found it necessary to cut short his visit and return to Iran.

The lack of explicitness in defining the duties and powers of presidents and academic deans can also be extended to department chairmen. It seems that the main duty of the chairmen consists of routine administrative activities which include in most cases the counselling of students and departmental correspondence. Department chairmen have very little influence on budget, recruitment of new faculty, salary, promotion, or curriculum planning. To a large extent they can be considered as figure heads only rather than as true communicators between faculty and central administration.

Career and Selection

In observing the career of political elite in Iran, Zonis (1971b) pointed out that:

> Where no particularly 'political' profession or occupation exists, all become so. And every individual is as prepared for political roles as every other. It should come as no surprise, then, that a physician would direct the operation of the National Iranian Oil Company, that a professor of hydraulic engineering would lead the Parliament, that a businessman would be president of the Senate, or that a military officer would be minister of agriculture (p. 197).

Indeed, this observation can be clearly applied to the careers of university presidents in Iran. The succession of presidents in Pahlavi University is an indication of this trend. The first president in 1962 was a former educator who lasted only for one year. In the academic year 1963-64 the prime minister himself became the new president.

He held both positions for about one year when he resigned from his important position as prime minister. Yet, in 1966 he was appointed as the minister of the Imperial Court and he managed again to hold both positions until he resigned from the presidency of Pahlavi University in 1968. The next president was the former minister of Housing and Development who held the office for three years. Finally, the president of Pahlavi University since 1971 is former general director for Iranian National Insurance.

Within a period of 12 years a newly-established university which probably needed a more stable term of office for its chief executive officer, has experienced four different presidents; that is, an average of three years as the term of presidency. With very rare exceptions, the succession of the presidents of other Iranian universities and their term of office follows the same pattern. This has been supported by Sadeghy (1972) who comments that "There is a rapid rate of turnover for administrative personnel which result in insecurity (p. 213)."

It should be noted that like their North American counterparts, university presidents in Iran are highly educated and without exception hold Ph.D. degrees. They come from upper-class families and can be considered as being in the middle-age category. One persistent characteristic, which is shared by all university presidents, is that they are politicians who temporarily left the political scene and eventually will return to assume their political activities. The important point is that even in this temporary period, the presidential office seems to be used as a means to further the political aspirations of the individual president. These aspirations may vary depending on which university they are appointed to as president. Sometimes the appointment of an individual as president of one of the provincial universities may be perceived as downward mobility in his political career.

Generally, there is no clear career route for presidents of Iranian universities; they do not move up in a hierarchy of administrative positions in the universities. In fact, the probability of a professional faculty member or vice-president becoming a president is almost zero. Yet, all of Iranian university presidents have teaching experience in various colleges and universities.

The report of the Imperial Government of Iran (1973) indicates that university presidents "are nominated by the respective Boards of Trustees and presented through the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and appointed by His Imperial Majesty (p. 33)." Actually, however, like any other political appointment in society, many and diverse factors, which are beyond the scope of this discussion, influence the selection of university presidents. It may suffice to point out that the selection procedure takes only short period which is in contrast to the average of eight to 12 months which Bolman (1965) indicates for American university presidents.

There is no formal or informal selection committee and the vacancy is never publicized. Depending on the political atmosphere of the day, somebody suddenly becomes president, as in the case of replacing all eight presidents of universities in 1968, which followed immediately after the prime minister reorganized his cabinet. Of course, it would be a mistake to assume that the boards of trustees do not influence the selection of Iranian university presidents. The point is that their informal political influence has nothing to do with the needs of the university, rather they are motivated to expand their own political influence and aspirations in one more place in society. To a large extent university presidents follow the same pattern for selecting the academic deans.

The career line of academic deans does not necessarily indicate an upward route through faculty ranks to department chairman and to the deanship. Since the main and most important criterion is loyalty to the president, it is not unusual to see an academic dean being selected from junior level of faculty, or even being imported from outside the university. In most cases, however, the academic deans are recruited from faculty members of the same university. Appointment is the only method of selection which is widely in practice. The procedure is the same as for presidents, except that it happens at a lower level and therefore is limited to within the universities. The selection of department chairmen is subject to the will of the president and to some extent of academic deans; they are recruited from the faculty members and appointed by the president to a large extent on the basis of their loyalty.

Style of Leadership

It is perhaps a widely accepted notion that "legitimate influence," is one of the most essential factors in leadership of today's colleges and universities (Dahl, 1963; Keeton, 1971). From this point of view, academic leadership can be defined as a process of interaction between academic administrators and various internal constituencies, which is based on the mutual understanding of the needs and aspirations of all who are bound together in a university (Hare, Borgatta, and Bales, 1955).

Against this background, the leadership style of university presidents in Iran can be described as "defensive leadership." Jack Gibb (1967) points out that:

> Defensive leadership is characterized by low trust, data distortion, persuasion, and high control. These four aspects of defensive leadership are parallel to four basic dimensions of all group or social behavior; the feeling climate, the flow of data within the system, the formation of goals, and the emergence of control (p. 58).

It seems that these characteristics of "defensive leadership" are in accord with what McGregor (1960) calls theory X.

Of the two alternatives, legitimate influence and defensive leadership, the latter seems to be very similar to leadership style of Iranian university presidents. The political sensitivity of their positions demands an authoritarian leadership and rejects any meaningful delegation or sharing of their authority. To protect his insecure position from any probable outside or inside challenge, he conducts his work in strict secrecy and engages in central control of information. Since the main formal channel of communication is downward, it is quite easy to manipulate the information. Subsequently, rumors substitute for meaningful communication and can be used as a means to evaluate the outcome of future decisions.

From this vantage point, no one can be trusted and "command" and manipulative field control (to borrow from management) seems to become the norm. Authority becomes so centralized that even simple routine administrative activities have to be approved by the president. Consequently, delay in decision-making is usually treated as normal and is justified on the grounds that it is under further review.

The only way, perhaps, one can be trusted is through unquestioned loyalty to the president. This in turn tends to subordinate the university to the personal goals of the presidents who do not see these as different from institutional goals. Therefore, when an individual president leaves his position, it is not unusual to see his loyal associates move out with him; furthermore, it is also common for a newly appointed president to bring his loyal associates with him and to put them into key positions.

All of these observations seem to be clearly consistent with the overall political leadership of government, and the same pattern can be observed in the leadership style, if any, of academic deans and department chairmen. As Jacobs (1966) pointed out it is the "rule by model" which motivates all leadership styles in different levels of Iranian society; that is, the acceptable style at a particular level is greatly influenced by the prevailing style at higher levels.

SUMMARY

Organizations and the administrative structures within them are the products of their histories and the social contexts within which they function. Because of the differences in histories and societies, it is not surprising to find important differences in the roles, career patterns, and leadership styles of academic administrators in North American and Iranian universities. The emphasis on particularistic interpersonal relationships in Iranian society results in the greater importance of the individuals who occupy offices than of the offices themselves or their interconnections. In contrast, the administrative structures of North American universities reflect the greater emphasis on systematic, rational mechanisms and procedures within organizations.

These differences are apparent in the roles of academic administrators. In North America, the president is the chief executive officer of the board and his power is explicitly defined in university acts, charters, or statutes. His duties include planning, policy development, personnel, budget, and indeed general supervision over the operation of the university. He is also responsible for establishing the administrative structure of the university and appointing other administrators.

The presidency of an Iranian university is a one man administration. There is no explicit statement of the power and duties of the presidents, and apart from their ceremonial, symbolic, and general supervisory role, the definition of the duties and powers is left to each incumbent. Consequently, personal goals and aspirations influence even the purposes of the university. Despite the lack of meaningful delegation of authority by the board, university presidents enjoy substantial amounts of authority, especially in the areas of budget administration and appointment of other administrators. Their major efforts, however, are directed toward maintaining order on campus and the physical development of the campus.

The present variation in the academic deanship reflects the diversity of the North American university system. Despite this variation, the dominant pattern indicates that the traditional concern of academic deans for students and curriculum has shifted toward an interest in faculty. The increasing demands of routine administrative duties limits the opportunity for meaningful academic leadership. In contrast, the idea of the academic deanship in Iranian universities is a recent innovation which is emerging from the professor-chair concept.

In spite of the limited information on department chairmen in North American universities, it appears that their powers and duties are varied due to many factors including the characteristics of the department. They are generally perceived as having limited power, but they do influence specific areas such as staffing and budgeting. Unlike North American universities, the movement toward departmentalization is a recent development in Iranian universities. The function of department chairmen involves mainly routine administrative duties, and they display far less influence than their counterparts in North America.

There is no identifiable career pattern for Iranian university presidents other than membership in the social elite and political activity. As a result, they do not identify themselves with the concept of academic community and the idea of the university. Their selection is mainly a political appointment without any internal consultation. Similar practices are in effect with regard to the academic deanship; yet there are identifiable career patterns. In contrast, there are two interrelated career routes for North American university presidents: vertical and horizontal. The route to the academic deanship also clearly indicates an academic career pattern. The socialization process is provided mainly through a series of administrative promotions in universities. Generally, the selection procedure for university presidents and academic deans involves consultation with major constituencies.

There is no single style of leadership of academic administrators in North American universities; this is mainly due to such factors as variation over institutions and individual differences. However, the university president is expected to consult, mediate, take advice, and provide leadership in academic and non-academic matters. The academic dean is also expected to provide leadership in academic affairs of the unit and to attend to the essential administrative matters. In general, a move from more autocratic to a democratic and open style is highly observable, and current practices favor participative and consultative styles of leadership. In Iran, however, the dominant pattern for the university president's leadership is that of a pyramid which provides for downward flow of power and authority. There is little emphasis on participation and the lack of trust and closed decision-making structure are the main attributes. With very few exceptions, lower level academic administrators reflect in their behavior the leadership styles of the presidents.

CHAPTER VI

FACULTY IN NORTH AMERICAN AND IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

Up to this point the literature which has been analyzed focussed on the origin of universities, their goals, and the roles of boards of trustees and administrators in the governance of the North American and Iranian universities. This chapter examines the role of the faculty as one of the most important internal constituencies of the universities.

THE ROLE OF FACULTY IN NORTH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Most writers in the field believe that in the United States the period after the Second World War was marked by the growth of the faculty power. The comments of McConnell (1971b) seem to express a typical opinion:

> One of the most significant changes since World War II is the great growth of faculty power, coupled with rapid faculty professionalization. Either by formal delegation or by tacit approval, college and university faculties have attained a high degree of professional self-government. . . . The individual faculty member's independence is enhanced by the principles of academic freedom and tenure. With increasing professionalization, he has attained a substantial degree of personal autonomy (p. 99).

Since the 1940's the participation of the faculty in federal government research projects and the pouring of money, approaching billions, from federal and state governments and foundations directly into the hands of faculty brought substantial changes in their roles.

Some writers, like Nisbet (1971), call this era the period of "great transformation (p. 79)" not only in terms of economic but also of social and political aspects of the role of university faculty.

In general, however, it seems the consequences of the post-war period are manifested in the realities of the 1970's. In describing the faculty position in the 1970's, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) comments seem to be an appropriate description:

> The 1960's were marked by student dissent and student organization. The 1970's may equally be marked by faculty dissent and faculty organization. The decade of the student may be followed by the decade of ~~the~~ faculty. The locus of activism is shifting (p. 39).

Issues Involving Faculty

Although the belief that "the faculty are the university" is obviously obsolete today, it is equally clear that faculty members play a very important role. There are many issues surrounding the role of the faculty in the governance of universities. Among these issues in North America, the most notable ones are: tenure, academic freedom, unionization, and faculty involvement in governance. Academic freedom and tenure have been, and still are, the necessary attributes of the academic community. Academic freedom has been defined as a special right of the individual faculty member to freedom of thought (Hofstadter and Metzger, 1955). The closely related issue of tenure provides faculty with economic security on the job. From this vantage point, tenure seems to be a means to support the exercise of academic freedom. John Livingston (1973) believes that "the basic issue in the battle over tenure goes far beyond the question of academic freedom. At issue is professionalism (p. 72)." Today, the right of academic freedom is largely guaranteed to faculty, and tenure is widely exercised on almost all campuses (Trow, 1973). However, despite these generally accepted practices, there are controversial comments and beliefs in the literature about the true meaning of these two related concepts.

While some writers extend the application of academic freedom to all aspects of campus life (Kadish, 1969), others justify the traditional and limited use of this concept (Jouglin, 1967). Similarly, students, administrators, governments, and the public at large question the validity of tenure practices. These criticisms and controversies, combined with the realities of financial pressure as well as external interferences in the affairs of the university, can lead to the issue of collective bargaining and unionization.

There are now widespread extensions of collective bargaining practices on the campuses of North American universities, and it is increasingly difficult for the student of university governance to ignore this issue which once belonged strictly to the field of management. One speculative explanation might be based on the assumption that universities are moving away from their traditional collegial model toward what seems to be a political model. No matter what are the reasons for this tension in the university, the result may be a mass movement toward unionization in the hope that collective bargaining will absorb some of the existing problems for the faculty (Schuster, 1974); however, the introduction of new problems will probably result.

Central to these problems is the issue of faculty involvement or participation in university decision-making processes. The complexity of and the increasing numbers of problems confronting universities in their internal affairs may well be due to the magnitude of the problem of faculty participation in university governance. However, it seems that all of these issues are not mutually exclusive, rather they overlap each other not only in analytical writings, but even in actual practice. Therefore, this chapter is focussed on involvement or participation of faculty in decision-making processes in both North American and Iranian universities. Furthermore, it has been noticed that the issue of faculty involvement in university governance has more relevance and applicability to Iranian universities and their faculty members than have some of the other issues.

Rationales for Participation

The demand for faculty involvement in university governance is justified in various ways. Every writer in the field who is interested in this issue expresses some judgement as to why faculty should participate in the process of decision-making. Generally, however, a synthesis of the literature reveals that these opinions can be classified under three major categories.

The first category is centred around the right of citizenship and the practice of democracy. Democracy is a societal goal or ideal that characterizes North American societies. Soujanen (1966) defines the concept of democracy as having two aspects: first, "The preferences of each person are weighed equally in making decisions," and second, "The preferences of the majority determine the decision with the minority bound to it until the next decision is made (p. 62)." Some advocates for faculty involvement in university governance argue that universities reflect their environment and are not organizations apart from the values of the larger society (Niblett, 1970). The extension of democratic principles into the North American campuses appears consistent with general societal values concerning decision-making.

To support this argument, Keeton (1971) extends the right of citizenship beyond the boundaries of North American democracy. He explains that faculty "right to a voice and vote may also be rooted in the claim of a human right to take part in the shaping of policies that affect one's life and well being (p. 12)." The faculty, then, as members of the university, are entitled to democratic participation. Since voting is the technique utilized in democracies to arrive at decisions, faculty should have a right to participate and to vote in affairs of the university (Dennison, 1955). However, precisely what democratic participation actually means on a campus is not always clear.

The second reason for faculty involvement relates to the idea of universities as knowledge-based organizations. It has been claimed that, under the influence of tradition and method of science and scholarship, scientific management and bureaucratic theories have very little applicability in universities. The argument is not on whether universities are really collegial, political and/or bureaucratic. Rather the emphasis, indeed, is on the perception of the university as a knowledge-based organization, whose whole purpose for being is creativity. And faculty alone, as the major participants, in the university have the expertise and qualification essential for this creativity (Lazarsfeld and Thielens, 1958; Gusfield and Riesman, 1964).

Furthermore, the authority in knowledge-based organizations or universities is something to be shared between the administrators, by virtue of their hierarchical role, and the faculty because of their technical knowledge. Sharing of authority rather than delegation of authority is the basic assumption. Therefore, the most suitable technique to use in the decision-making process on campus is "reciprocity." This technique is closely related to the values which dominate the knowledge-based organizations. In universities as one of these organizations, there is no room for subordinate-superordinate relationships. Rather the process is based upon reciprocal participation and group work (Masterson, 1960).

The last major rationale category for faculty participation is frequently addressed by administrators. Fundamentally, it derives out of the principle of modern management, that if people get involved and participate in the decision-making process, they are more likely to accept the decisions (Hungate, 1964). The manipulative technique implicit in this argument is as old as politics, yet it is sometimes used as a rationale for faculty participation. The warning of Dodds

(1962) is typical:

> The goals of the consultative process are a wiser decision than the president alone is equipped to make, a wider sense of ownership in the decision, and a more direct responsibility for carrying it out. To treat it as a manipulative tool for securing one's way is treason to the principle. It is also foolish because the fraud is soon found out (p. 73).

He goes on to say that faculty participation in the decision-making process results in greater willingness to trust administrators.

In fact, during this period of rapid change which characterizes the North American society and campuses, to encourage faculty participation in university governance will give the individual faculty member a chance to feel that he has some voice in the shaping of goals, values, and the basic policies of his university. To the extent that this process may delay the introduction of change, Dickman (1962) argues that "such participation may prove to be the quickest way of bringing lasting, rather than abortive, institutional change (p. 130)." Some writers argue that not only in immediate changes which face present campuses, but also in long-range planning, faculty participation is desirable. The main reason which has been given is the continuity of faculty services over short periods of administrative positions (Woodburne, 1958).

The rationales for faculty participation in the governance of the universities are justified, therefore, by the assumptions of faculty right of citizenship, by views of the most suitable process of decision-making in knowledge-based organizations, and by the management technique of widespread consultation.

Factors Influencing Participation

There are many forces which have shaped or influenced the extent to which and the way in which faculty participation has been implemented. In synthesizing the literature, three main categories have been identified. These are the historical and cultural factors, the characteristics of faculty, and the characteristics of the universities.

Historical and cultural factors.

Unlike the faculty members in the British universities, faculty in the early North American colleges had very little opportunity to participate in the decision-making process of their colleges. This, of course, was mainly due to the predominant position of boards over presidents and faculty of those colleges. Despite this general description, evidences of faculty struggle are available. Samuel Morison (1936) pointed out that perhaps it was in Harvard that early challenge for faculty power occured. In Harvard, the resident corporation composed of the president and faculty was challenged by the board of overseers and lost not only some of their power but gradually were replaced by clergymen. After 1806 practically no more faculty were chosen for the resident corporation. Another attempt by faculty for participation at Harvard in 1825 failed. The continuation of this struggle, however, brought recognition of the distinction between external and internal decisions. The domain of the faculty became the area of student discipline and conduct of instruction (Earnest, 1953) while the domain of the board came to be policy formation and allocation of financial resources.

In challenging the authority of the board and the administration, the faculty at Harvard were not alone. In Yale, the faculty had the right to decide about the educational policy and the recruitment of faculty. In the University of Virginia, the faculty had substantial freedom in determining the educational programs and selecting the faculty. Since then, as Jencks and Riesman (1968) pointed out, this has become a tradition, a tradition which has influenced the governance of North American universities and which was not seriously challenged until recently.

Later in the history of faculty involvement in the period of the 1870's and 1880's, the decline in religious denominations once again increased the attempts of the faculty for participation beyond their traditional role in the academic area. The outcome, again, was unsuccessful. In cases where faculty did really participate in some area of university governance, such as in 1890 at Cornell University, Veysey (1965) comments that the reason was not the faculty's struggle for power, rather the faculty was used "as a pawn by the president and trustees (p. 392)."

As recently as the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, therefore, the faculty's role was restricted to the area of educational matters. In addition to resistance from boards and administrators, a further reason may have been faculty unwillingness to accept additional administrative duties. The important reason, however as Jencks and Riesman (1968) pointed out, may have been the lack of professional security and relatively uncertain position of the faculty.

The introduction of tenure in 1906 and the formation of the American Association of University Professors in 1915 demonstrates another phase in the history of faculty struggle for involvement in the governance of the universities. This time faculty were relatively more secure in their job. Armed with the comforts of academic freedom and highly supported by an external association, it seemed they were more prepared for the challenge. To the extent that they increased participation in university governance it can be argued that they succeeded.

Faculty characteristics. Modern man depends largely on organizations as the most rationale and efficient social grouping known (Etzioni, 1964). This statement is true for almost all areas of activity. Today, even some of the traditional independent professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, are performing their tasks within organizations. The trend is the result of many factors, but particularly important are greater specialization and rising costs.

Very little research has been done on faculty per se as professionals. But it is reasonable to assume that the research on other professionals in organizational contexts can be applied in large measure to faculty professionals. Greenwood (1957) has drawn from the literature five attributes which characterize a professional. He defines these characteristics as:

1. use of skills supported by a fund of knowledge that has been organized into an internally consistent system called a body of theory.

2. client subordination to professional authority in matters within the professional's sphere of influence.

3. community sanction of authority, either formal or informal.

4. an ethical code regulating behavior, especially demanding affective neutrality toward clients, and support by colleagues.

5. a professional culture with its own values, norms, and symbols; and its formal organization for training recruits, conducting practice, and regulating performance (p. 44).

Most writers believe that the characteristics of faculty members are comparable to these attributes.

The relationship of professionals to the organization varies with the type of organization in which they work. Amitai Etzioni (1964) deals extensively with professionals in non-professional organizations but professionals also work in professional organizations. Richard Scott (1965) defines professional organization as ". . . organizations in which members of one or more professional groups play the central role in the achievement of the primary organization objectives (p. 65)." The best examples of professionals working in professional organizations are doctors in a hospital, lawyers in a law firm, and faculty in a university. Advocates of professional authority argue that the very nature of university itself requires that faculty have the authority to set the goals of the universities. From this point of view, universities are conceptualized as extreme cases of professional organizations (Etzioni, 1964). Thus, not only are the faculty "professionals" by Greenwood's five characteristics, but these professionals practice within a particular type of organization, namely, a professional organization.

To the extent that the roles, orientations, expectations, and attitudes of faculty professionals are highly differentiated from administrators conflict is inevitable and this conflict effects the ways and extent of participation in university governance. Basically, in the university, faculty members are viewed as performing "line" functions and administrators are viewed as performing "staff" functions. This distinction is important since in other organizations the administrative function is a duty of the "line," and professionals' functions is to perform "staff" duties (Kornhauser, 1962; Peabody, 1962; Petry, 1958). The primacy of teaching and research as the "line" function in the university tends to be perpetuated by the faculty, confirmed by the administrators, and passed on to each succeeding generation of graduate students. This in turn leads faculty members to perceive and to feel that the really important work of the university takes place in the classroom, the laboratory, and the study rather than in the offices of chairmen, deans, and university presidents. This strong viewpoint tends to be transmitted to junior faculty and graduate students who again pass it on to the younger generation.

The very nature of faculty training emphasizes their expertise and stresses their superiority over administrators. Terry Lunsford (1968) in discussing the views of faculty in terms of administrators' competence in managing the university asserts that:

> . . . The special competence of the academic administrator is highly precarious and contingent. In the first place, there is no esoteric speciality of "higher education" as an activity that academic man generally will acknowledge today and in which

> university administrators might claim a trained and systematic "competence" akin to that of an academic discipline. Second, no expertise in governance (or administration, or management) is acceptable by most academic men as a specialty that might undergird the special functions that administrators have come to perform. . . . In the highly professionalized organization that is a university, this alone means that their very authority is always more or less precarious (p. 6).

Yet, in those universities with a long history of self-government, one of the most important duties of the senior faculty members is that of performing their fair share of administrative functions; otherwise, so runs the argument, professional administrators would take over these functions.

This professional attitude, however, does not mean that faculty in performing their duties follow a unified role. Indeed, the diverse roles that faculty professionals assume, has been studied by Gustad (1966) who classified faculty reference groups as students, faculty, colleagues, and administrators. He further sees faculty members as falling into six different categories of roles. These are: "scholar," "curriculum adviser," "entrepreneur," "consultant," "administrator," and "cosmopolitan." Each of these roles may be associated with a different attitude toward involvement in university governance.

Another study by Gouldner (1957; 1958) examines faculty orientations with regard to their loyalty to the university. He points to the constant stress between faculty loyalty to the university and their professional expertise. His typology shows that cosmopolitans can be sub-divided as the "outsiders" and "empire builders," and that they are very low in loyalty to the university. On the other hand, locals also could be sub-divided into the "dedicated," "the true bureaucrat," "the homeguard," and "the elders," and that they are highly committed to their particular university.

The studies by Gustad and Gouldner show that although faculty are professionals, they assume diverse roles and display varied and sometimes conflicting orientations. The professional commitment to professional life does not necessarily follow a unified pattern. Burton Clark (1963b) has developed the concept of locals and cosmopolitans to four somewhat different types of faculty culture. He refers to "teacher," "scholar-researcher," "demonstrator," and "consultant" which again confirms the diversity in the pattern of faculty behavior.

What these and other writers suggest is that the extent and ways of faculty participation in university governance are as varied as their training, orientations, expectations, and attitudes as professionals. For example, from Gouldner's findings, it is possible to suggest that "locals" are highly involved in university governance and have greater satisfaction of and integration with the administrators.

Campus characteristics. Not only history, culture, and professional norms of the faculty, but also the size, type of program, type of control and social-psychological climate of universities strongly influence faculty participation in governance. Writings on universities tend to emphasize their similarities as organizations; however, public universities may be quite different, at least in terms of faculty participation, from private universities. Similarly, the size of the universities is a differentiating factor. The same seems to be true concerning the traditions and customs within universities and social-psychological climate which dominates each university. These factors contribute to a significant degree to the pattern of faculty participation on campus.

Available literature, though not much exists, indicates that as the universities grow in size and complexity, the proportion of faculty who do not participate in university governance become relatively greater (Lewis, 1967). Faculty mobility also increases in the larger institutions in contrast to the low turnover rate in small institutions (Brown, 1967; Marshall, 1964). Similarly, faculty in the larger universities seem to be supportive of students against administrators. Furthermore, the faculty commitment to teaching compared with research declines when the size of the universities increases (Hodgkinson, 1971a).

There are also relationships between the kinds of formal control which govern universities and the kinds of interest activity patterns that dominate. Generally, private universities tend to have less radical faculty in terms of faculty unionization and strikes (Shils, 1973); the opposite trend tends to hold for publicly controlled universities. Universities which enjoy a high rate of prestige and universities with a reputation of highly selective admission practices, demonstrate a body of faculty who are more committed to specialized professional skills and less interested in participation in internal governance of the campus (Hodgkinson, 1971a).

All of these data and opinions demonstrate an important proposition, namely that the characteristics of universities influence the kind and extent to which a faculty member participates in campus governance (Keeton, 1971).

Means and Extent of Participation

People have various kinds of attitudes and opinions with regard to participation in governance. Research on political analysis has indicated that the voting people fall into three categories: "apathetics," "spectators," and "gladiators" (Milbrath, 1965). Participation in these three types of activities, according to Milbrath determines a hierarchy of political involvement. Apathetics comprise about one-third of the adult population, spectators 60 percent, and gladiators less than ten percent. Practically, because of "large size of the population, a monopoly over political and managerial skills, control over resources of revenue, and ability to spend time on group activities," a small professional minority dominates the governance of democratic societies (Monsen and Cannon, 1965, p. 18). These "oligarchs" or political elite govern without consultation, except with those small groups which are directly effected by their action. The political "spectators" are potentially capable of political influence, yet they would rather not be actively involved and not test their influence. At the times of crises, there is a high probability that they will enter the political arena (Campbell, et al., 1964). Therefore, the possibility of "spectators" involvement limits the freedom of "oligarchs."

Burton Clark (1963a) takes the position that the structure of faculty participation in university governance is similar to society at large. He goes on to point out that this structure is quite normal for a representative democracy. As universities grow in size and complexity, faculty members have to delegate most of their work to committees and send their representatives to senate. "In short," as Clark (1961a) pointed out, "the so-called academic community becomes less of a community--an informal collegium--and more of a formal organization, in the faculty itself as well as in the administrative group (p. 298)." Therefore, under normal conditions a very limited group of faculty with the help of some administrators really dominate the governance of the universities.

There are more than enough empirical data to support the above statement. Ruth Eckert's (1959) study of the appointment of academic senate committees at the University of Minnesota shows that in a 13 year period, only 20 percent of faculty members actually participated in senate committees. Out of those who served on committees only 12 percent served on three to seven committees. In her second study during 1965 to 1968, she indicates that only ten percent of the faculty served on three to six committees (Eckert, 1969). Furthermore, only eight percent of the committee members had six to ten years of committee service.

Foote and Mayer (1968) show similar findings in a report of the Study Commission on University Governance at Berkeley.* They observed that "there is a marked tendency for a relatively small number of faculty members to monopolize the membership of most powerful committees and to rotate the chairmanship among themselves (p. 32)." These and other examples (Deegan, McConnell, Mortimer, and Stull, 1969) show that faculty participation in university senate is limited to relatively few faculty. But the university senate and its committee structure is only one way to participate in the governance of the campus. Today, there are more alternatives open to faculty to participate in and to influence the decision-making process of the campus.

Participation alternatives. To treat faculty participation as though there is a typical faculty is highly simplistic. Arnold Weber, et al. (1967), found that the amount of faculty involvement in decision-making varies from campus to campus in terms of its impact, number of faculty actually involved in influencing decisions, and the means by which faculty members either individually or as a whole exercise pressure to make their views heard.

It is generally assumed that most faculty members do wish to participate. The literature contains numerous proposals as to how faculty in North American universities may choose to influence the governance of their campuses. However, there are many faculty members who may not wish to participate in academic decision-making.

There may be two reasons for non-participation. Either faculty are very satisfied with the conditions and social-psychological climate of their campus or they see a futility in activity. William

Gamson (1968) notes that "Inactivity can be a sign of confidence as well as alienation (p. 46)." Therefore, one action taken by faculty members in universities is to ignore all or some issues and not to make any attempt to exert influence. Indeed, Dahl (1961) pointed out that this attitude is perfectly normal:

> It would clear the air of a good deal of cant, if instead of assuming that politics is a normal and natural concern of human beings, one were to make the contrary assumption that whatever lip service citizens may pay to attitudes, politics is a remote, alien, and unrewarding activity (p. 279).

Of course, there are many faculty who do wish to become involved and to be active. The second alternative is for those faculty who prefer to participate in the structure or formal system which is already in operation. They could act within the faculty senate or through committee system which predominates the universities.

Another alternative way of influencing university governance is for faculty members to work through organizations which are primarily external to the universities. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in the United States and The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) are probably the most familiar of these external organizations. A faculty member can also join a union to influence decisions within universities. The extreme case of this alternative is when faculty members go far enough to withhold their professional services and even participate in strike. Such groups of faculty have been labeled as "activists" or "radicals."

It should be noted that faculty members could also use a combination of these alternatives in influencing decisions. Some faculty members may participate in formal committee structure of a university as well as by being a member of AAUP or CAUT.

Participation practices. The available data in the literature may not be extensive enough to permit generalizations. In the light of the available data, however, it is interesting to note that the distribution of faculty participation in university governance is parallel to the distribution of voting populace in society. More than half of the faculty members actually are not active in university governance (Dykes, 1968). This observation led him to conclude:

> One of the most noticeable and best documented findings of the investigation is the existence of a pervasive ambivalence in faculty attitudes toward participation in decision making. The faculty members interviewed overwhelmingly indicated the faculty should have a strong, active, and influential role in decisions, especially in those areas directly related to the educational function of the university. At the same time, the respondents revealed a strong reticence to give the time such a role would require. Asserting that faculty participation is essential, they place participation at the bottom of their professional priority list and deprecated their colleagues who do participate (p. 38).

The unwillingness of the faculty to participate in university governance has also been noticed by Corson (1960):

> These enigmatic attitudes of faculties--a catholic concern and a comprehensive claim of competence, on the one hand, and an indifference and unwillingness to take part, on the other, give rise to several questions on the part faculties can and should play in institutional decision making (p. 99).

What proportion of non-participant faculty members are satisfied with their university governance, and what proportion are dissatisfied is unknown.

The faculty senate and membership in the committee structure of the university is the route for those who would like to go through the formal structure. A faculty senate in North American universities is generally thought of as an assembly of faculty functions either like a town meeting, or as a representative body. In some universities administrators may be members. There is no single standard of the powers and responsibilities of these bodies. These internal organizations have no ties to organizations outside of their particular university. In addition to the senate there are departmental committees, ad hoc faculty committees, and standing committees. More than 40 percent of faculty members are members of faculty senates. Of course, this may be due to the representative system or exclusion of junior faculty from membership (Dykes, 1968). Again, what proportion of these 40 percent of faculty actively participate in the faculty senate committee structure is unknown.

The rate of participation and the proportion of faculty who participate in the university committee structure shows the same general trend. As one moves up through the levels of decision-making, the number of faculty who participate in committees decreases. There are very few who hold memberships in more than three or four committees (Baldridge, 1971a). Generally, most faculty prefer participation in departmental level rather than in the college or university levels.

For those faculty who go outside universities to find ways to influence internal decisions, AAUP or CAUT may seem to be such an organization. The AAUP and CAUT, founded in 1915 and 1951 respectively, have a network of national organizations and national headquarters. Local chapters do not have decision-making authority within the formal structure of the university. In the course of their history, the AAUP and CAUT have been quite concerned with issues involving academic freedom and tenure. Recently these organizations are actively involved in the issue of faculty unionization and collective bargaining.

Faculty unions are another type of external faculty organization which may have ties with national or regional groups. They are very concerned with the salaries and working conditions of faculty members. At present, despite the large number of faculty who hold membership in AAUP and CAUT, more than 60 percent are non-participants and do not get actively involved. The same is true concerning university faculty members who engage in union activities. Very few faculty consider unionization as a proper way for influencing university governance (Carbarino, 1972; Weber, et al. 1967). Yet, the opportunity to join a union is generally increasing.

Consequences of Faculty Involvement and Non-Involvement

All of the discussions in the preceding sections clearly demonstrate the fact that conflict in universities is inevitable (McConnell, 1969).

Conflict. The very concept of conflict led Baldridge (1971b) to reject the classical Weberian (Stroup, 1966) and traditional collegial models (Millet, 1962) and to introduce a political model. His basic assumptions focus on the existence of conflict in universities.

Not only does conflict exist between faculty and administrators, but there is even conflict within professional ranks. Faculty members differ on the importance of teaching versus research; on the importance of serving the local community versus serving mankind; on the importance of grades as well as on a number of other things.

Morris Keeton (1971) observed the existence of conflict between faculty themselves and pointed out:

> At the same time, the older faculty's interests may conflict directly with those of younger faculty on issues of pay and working conditions, and the perspectives of younger faculty closer in age and often in life style to their students, may require representation in policy deliberations if pedagogy is to be best served (p. 14).

Furthermore, there is evidence suggesting that faculty in different discipline areas assume different roles and have different perceptions toward university governance.

The second type of conflict is between faculty and administrators. Literature in the area deals with this situation more in terms of relationships between professional and bureaucratic organization. Because of division of labor within professional organizations two distinct but sometimes parallel hierarchies develop. There is the bureaucratic hierarchy of the organization which resembles in many ways a Weberian-type bureaucracy and there is the professional organization which is very fluid and difficult to describe. When professionals work in organizations such as a university, there are potential sources of conflict between their professional orientation and the needs and demands of the organization as perceived by the administrators.

Blau and Scott (1962) have identified four potential sources of conflict between professionals and their organizational management:

1. The professional's resistence to bureaucratic rules
2. The professional's rejection of bureaucratic standards
3. The professional's resistence to bureaucratic superiors
4. The professional's conditional loyalty to the bureaucracy (p. 212).

These sources of conflict have not been directly analyzed with regard to the faculty and administrators. Yet it probably has more generalized theoretical applicability than others who study some specific professionals in some specific organization (Kornhauser, 1962; Marcson, 1960).

In tracing the rise of faculty professionals, Jencks and Riesman (1968) accept the tyrany of faculty professionals in universities and endorse the existence of conflict in American academic institutions. Burton Clark (1961b) sees that as power continues to shift from external to internal sources, the issue of authority takes the form of conflict between the faculty and administrators. In pointing out the normality of the existence of this conflict, he goes on to say that:

> Going into battle, the faculties march under the banner of self-government and academic freedom, emphasizing equality of relations among colleagues and deemphasizing administrative hierarchy. The administrators move forward under a cluster of banners: Let's bring order out of chaos, or at least reduce chaos to mere confusion; let's increase efficiency, utilize our scarce resources--men and money--effectively; let's . . . (p. 89).

This indeed is a classical example of what happens when professionals practice in an organization.

Problems. Both faculty involvement and faculty non-involvement in the governance of the universities creates many problems. Acceptance of the desirability of involvement when increasing numbers of faculty do not participate necessitates the administrative struggle to convince more faculty members to become involved; however, to persuade and to convince faculty to participate is hardly a simple task to accomplish. As Sullivan (1965) argues, the emergence of ever increasing issues which more or less concern faculty, and the diversity of positions which is taken by individual faculty members, makes this indeed a giant dilemma. The need to convince faculty to participate may well go beyond the contemporary realities of the campus. In fact, providing an organizational environment which can create a sense of trust, belongingness, and idealism may be an alternative (Clark, 1971).

Convincing individual faculty members to participate is only a part of the problem. Without appropriate mechanisms for participation by individual faculty members, the result may well be disappointment, frustration, and alienation. The traditional belief about a community of scholars and its consensual organization is no longer an adequate response to the conditions of size and diversity of values which the faculty experiences. Even the representative mechanism has been subjected to debate and more and more questions have been raised as to the representativeness of faculty representatives (Rohfleisch, 1968). The outcry in the literature and direct observation of practices in North American universities is a potential proof that the present governance structures are seldom able to bring about the participation of the majority of faculty members. Therefore, while one problem is to stimulate all faculty members to participate, another problem arises automatically in finding the appropriate and acceptable mechanisms.

Another source of problems when faculty members participate in university governance is the issue of accountability. Stanley Ikenberry (1971) argues that "authority and responsibility are so confused in large complex institutions that it has proven difficult to achieve a satisfactory degree of institutional accountability and control (p. 29)." Today, the demands for accountability are highly visible as universities become more costly than before and more dependent on state and federal funds (Kerr, 1969). But, the very nature of faculty professional tasks is opposed to any outside interference. This point led Parsons (1971) to assert his personal view:

> . . . faculties are not well suited to take the major collective responsibility for a very large part of the corporate affairs of even their own faculties, to say nothing of a university as a whole. They are too divided and decentralized by the essential nature of their own functions. . . . At the simpler social level, they are not accountable to anyone but their individual and collective consciences with respect to the guardianship of the integrity of their professional commitments (p. 494).

This argument has also been expressed by Mayhew (1969). He pointed out that when faculty assume a full share of control of universities, the goals and concerns of the university shift toward the personal interests of faculty members such as salary and fringe benefits, to such an extent that university goals tend to be ignored.

The supporters of the political model of the university see the issue of faculty accountability in universities as somewhat comparable to general political system of society at large (Monsen and Cannon, 1965). From this vantage point, they do not see this issue problematic. Generally, however, the literature indicates that the pattern of accountability exhibited by faculty members in universities is a complex one and severely limits some of the claims of the faculty on involvement in university governance.

Finally, there is another set of problems confronting faculty involvement in university governance. These problems are mostly centred around the question of the faculty's time and competing activities. John Crispo (1971) outlines these competing activities:

1. carry out one's normal teaching load as scheduled;
2. making oneself readily available to one's students;
3. keeping abreast of the literature and other developments in one's field;
4. contributing to advance of knowledge in one's field; and
5. carrying out one's share of the formal and informal consultation necessary to assist students in their thesis work (p. 4).

Then, he raises the point that if faculty also want to become fully involved in governance, some reduction among these activities is necessary. Archie Dykes' (1968) findings suggest the same argument. He found that faculty believe governance involvement takes too much time from research and to a lesser degree from teaching.

The problem of time can also be approached in terms of delays in the decisions which have to be made by committees. It is generally agreed that faculty members are highly conservative and as Livingston (1969) pointed out they "tend to be experts at making distinctions not reaching agreements; posing problems, not offering solutions (p. 170)." Therefore, faculty involvement may cause a serious delay not only in long term policy decisions, but also in matters which demand immediate action.

Trends and Future Proposals

In spite of many problems and sometimes serious shortcomings which are associated with the issue of faculty involvement in university governance, the literature is full of proposals and recommendations for faculty participation. Most of these proposals are directed toward a specific campus; however, there are some proposals which have broader practical applicability.

One way to increase faculty participation in university governance which has been proposed is that of greater involvement of faculty in the committee structure of the campus (Dodds, 1962; Horn, 1962; Corson, 1960; Muston, 1969). Regardless of the advantages and disadvantages of committees per se, unless the committees are judiciously employed, there are serious doubts about the effectiveness of this method of participation.

Another set of proposals is through the use of different representational systems (Mooney, 1963). Generally, there is very little comprehensive data on the nature, number, and effectiveness of representational systems in universities. The most common representational system in universities is the faculty senate. In describing the nature of the faculty senate Lieberman (1969) points to the weaknesses of these bodies and concludes that eventually the faculty senates will deteriorate.

The idea of shared authority and responsibility in governance by administrators, faculty, and sometimes students (Keeton, 1971; Hodgkinson, 1969a) has also been suggested. This proposal is for full participation of all constituencies in the decision-making process. The fundamental assumptions are openness of decision-making structures and the acknowledgment of the existence of conflict on any issue (McConnell, 1968). To the extent that any university meets these assumptions, it is claimed that better and more efficient participation in governance will result.

A philosophical approach characterizes another line of proposals for faculty participation (Nisbet, 1971). Burton Clark (1971) suggests a normative approach toward better participation. He defines an organizational "saga" as a "collective understanding of unique accomplishment in a formally established group (p. 501)." It seems that the organizational "saga" may hold faculty together if they share a belief. Burton Clark believes that saga deeply commits the individuals to stay with a system, to save and improve it rather than to withdraw in order to serve self-interest elsewhere (p. 503).

The philosophical proposals appear to work in small colleges, though as we move to the present multiversity, the prerequisite for building a university "saga" becomes so numerous that it seems practically impossible.

Trends. Today, the general trend in the literature reveals a perception of greater faculty power in the universities (Gross and Grambsch, 1974). The inclusion of faculty members in the board of trustees and various decision-making bodies of the universities is increasing, though not to the extent perhaps that faculty expected. On the other hand, unions or union-like organizations are developing within universities. The growth of these organizations has a direct relationship to the satisfaction of the faculty on the campuses in which the unions are appearing. Israel Kugler (1968) attributes the rise of faculty unionism to ". . . burgeoning enrollments, inadequate facilities, burdensome workloads, and relatively poor compensation (p. 417)."

Critics of faculty unionism (Sumberg, 1970) point to the irrelevancy of unions and collective bargaining in universities as academic organizations. The comments of Kadish (1968) are indicative of what the critics believe:

> What is involved in the regularized use of the strike in the collective bargaining relationship . . . is shifting the basis of professional claims from common commitment and moral entitlement to the play of power in a competitive context. The move from academic senate to collective bargaining backed by the strike is a move to the marketplace, and the spirit of the marketplace is that you are entitled to what you can exact, and what you can exact is what you are entitled to (p. 163).

These critics also point to the possible reaction of students and society to the appearance of collective bargaining on campus.

Yet, as the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973), suggests, the "faculty have much to be concerned about:

> - Salaries are rising more slowly; real income, in some instances, has actually been reduced.
> - Budgetary support for faculty interests is much harder to obtain.
> - More efforts are being made to control conditions of employment, such as workload.
> - Students have intruded into what were once faculty preserves for decision-making, and these intrusions and their possible extensions are a source of worry for many faculty members.
> - External authorities, outside the reach of faculty influence, are making more of the decisions that affect the campus and the faculty.
> - Policies on promotion and tenure are more of an issue both as the rate of growth of higher education slows down, thus making fewer opportunities available, and as women and members of minority groups compete more actively for such opportunities as exist (p. 39).

Therefore, despite the argument against faculty engagement in collective bargaining, the fact is that faculty unionization is on the increase in North American universities; the rate of its development does not lead one to be optimistic about its future disappearance. However, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) suggests that faculty of each university should consider all of the advantages and disadvantages of importing collective bargaining to the campus. At the same time, it recommends that if faculty is willing to get involved in collective bargaining, they had better leave academic affairs to the faculty senate. Of course, to what extent it would be possible to separate financial affairs from academic matters and whether the faculty senate will survive after the arrival of collective bargaining is subject to major argument.

Generally, however, it seems that the literature accepts the trend and deals more about the technical aspects of the issue rather than the issue per se.

PERSPECTIVE ON FACULTY IN IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

A simplistic view of the role of faculty of Iranian universities would be to argue that they are confronted by the same issues as are their counterparts in the North American universities. This may be true to some extent but there are also important differences. Although it is realistic to assume that similar problems exist in Iranian universities, their relative importance and magnitude may be quite different.

The right of "academic freedom" is usually guaranteed for Iranian faculty, in terms of the definition of "freedom" in Iranian social context. Freedom means the right of the individual in Iranian society to do whatever he wants to do provided his actions do not endanger the security of the country. From this point of view, Iranian faculty members are free to pursue their professional careers. Because of the high demand for university teachers and the relatively short supply, the issue of tenure for the faculty of Iranian universities does not exist in fact. Besides, the recruitment of faculty as civil-servants in most universities provides the faculty with the comforts of a highly secure job.

Similarly, faculty salaries in Iranian universities are comparatively higher than the upper-middle class income in Iranian society. This is mostly due to the principle of supply and demand and the high prestige which is attached to university positions. It seems that the issue of faculty compensation does not concern

Iranian faculty unless the present world-wide economic inflation shifts the trend. Furthermore, working conditions of Iranian faculty are subject to no internal or external pressures; they are subject more to individual habit rather than a generalized rule.

Students, as will be discussed in the next chapter, do not enter into the governance of Iranian universities, to say nothing of intrusion into faculty domains. Finally, most of the Iranian faculty members have identified themselves with the university and are satisfied with the present university governance, even though they do not participate in the process of university decision-making.

One conclusion from the above descriptive observations is that Iranian faculty members do not use unionization and collective bargaining as a means to influence the internal governance of their institutions. Another conclusion is that according to this information, there is very little need for Iranian faculty members to struggle for power and influence in governance. In other words, this conclusion is based upon the assumption that if they already have what they should have, they must be naive to raise the issue.

However, it can be argued that the conscious or unconscious tendency of Iranian faculty members to acknowledge the existence of this issue necessitates deeper analysis of their roles in universities. If, as mentioned in chapter three, the Iranian universities are under scrutiny and are not meeting the demands of the society, then the faculty as a major constituency of the university must accept part of the blame. To the extent that faculty participation might have contributed to overcoming some of the shortcomings of Iranian universities, it can be argued that faculty participation in Iranian universities is an issue.

It should be noted that the situation in North American universities is to find ways and means which may reduce the present "cold-war" and the existing conflicting interests of faculty and other constituencies. For Iranian universities, however, the challenge is to find ways and means for faculty participation which necessarily may lead to more conflict between faculty members and other major groups. Therefore, while universities in both North American and Iran can be studied to see how they might improve their internal governance, the rationale for participation may be different. The North American faculty should seek participation to protect what the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) calls "faculty concerns." The Iranian faculty members, already satisfied with those "concerns," should seek participation to improve the quality of university life.

Fundamentally, the main policy decisions for Iranian universities, just like of any other branch of the government, come from outside these institutions. On the other hand, as was mentioned in the preceding chapter, university administrators have dominated the internal decisions of the universities. The combination of these two factors and faculty lack of interest for involvement, leaves very little room for meaningful faculty participation. The faculty members motivation centres around his personal interest; participation in decision-making processes becomes a means for solving personal problems. Iranian faculty do not participate in governance and naturally do not have a voice in establishing the internal rules and procedures for making decisions. Thus, these rules and procedures, at times, would be perceived as barriers which have to be by-passed in search of other channels.

If not only because of past experiences and the general belief, it must be because of the fruitfulness in going through informal channels that Iranian faculty perceive the university as a political entity. Their reactions to the university and to how they can influence the decision-making process or solve their own personal problems, seem to be the same reaction that they have toward any other political organization in the Iranian society. They seek personal power and look for internal as well as external support through friendship, lobbying, social and family ties, membership in political parties, or even supporting the student demonstrations.

There are many factors which may explain the ways Iranian faculty members attempt to influence governance processes. Traditionally Iranian faculty members have been the prime sources of recruitment for high government political positions. The expansion of the university system in Iran reversed this trend. Universities faced with faculty shortages had to look for government officials in higher positions and recruit them on a part-time basis. In the former case, the taste of political power and political ambition and in the latter, the close relationship with politicians, gave the Iranian university faculty members a political aspiration. Furthermore, the close supervision of government over Iranian colleges and universities right from the beginning, for whatever reasons, made the university susceptive to politicization.

Iranian faculty members like other Iranian citizens were exposed to the same history. Iranians have seldom been characterized for their capacity for joint action. Historically, they are more oriented towards individualism, and self-interest, and being Iranian, faculty members do not act collectively. This, in turn, tends to make them highly suspicious of group work and group involvement.

The values and orientations of Iranian faculty members seem to reflect the attitudes of the general societal class from which they have come. As Zonis (1971a) pointed out: "Attitudes toward other persons, modes of interpersonal relations, values and goals for living, life-styles, and so forth, are all bound up with the social class background of university students and faculty (p. 239)."

In the past, formal higher education was only for the elite group of the Iranian society who could afford it; therefore, Iranian students who returned home after receiving university degrees from European or North American universities became the new elites of the society. They were mostly conservative and they were highly bureaucratic oriented in their values and goals for life in the society.

In contrast to the upper-class origin of faculty members in the past, graduates of middle-class origin are increasingly entering the universities to assume teaching positions. Most of these faculty members received their training in Europe. However, today more and more graduates of North American universities are hired. The very fact that almost all Iranian faculty members have been trained outside of Iran means that for a long period they were subject to another culture and another kind of training which seems to be quite different from Iranian practice. The expectations of those who do return to introduce new ideas and to change the nature of the university lasts for a short time and soon the main stream of the system absorbs them. Not that they are not professionally qualified; on the contrary, they are highly trained and their expertise can be used to solve many problems. Yet, their aspiration for power in governmental structures and the perception of futility in involvement for introducing real change eliminates the possibility of any attempt.

Since there has never been a felt or acknowledged necessity for faculty participation in university governance, there are very few organizational mechanisms available for faculty involvement. After all, the philosophy is based upon the assumption that faculty members are in university only to teach. Actually what exists in all universities is a "university council" which consists of the president, vice-president(s), deans, and sometimes associate deans, directors of every affiliated hospital or institution, and one or two faculty members from each faculty, school, or college of the particular university. These faculty members are selected by deans and appointed by presidents for the term of four years. Below this level, for faculty involvement, there is departmental committee structure.

One way for the faculty to exchange views and to engage in cooperative activities is through professional organizations. Again, as Zonis (1971a) comments:

> In Iran . . . there are no functioning professional associations that resemble those with which we are familiar in the United States or Western Europe. Lawyers, physicians, and engineers are organized into a number of associations. However, these are organized primarily for practitioners rather than researchers or faculty members (p. 241).

To some extent these associations are under government control and this tends to replace the professional standards with bureaucratic standards. Other associations of lesser importance than those discussed include various foreign university graduates and women's organizations. The foreign university graduates are usually grouped by countries and are primarily interested in gaining recognition for the validity of their degrees.

There are two ways that Iranian university faculty respond to the absence of professional organizations. Most of them as Zonis (1971a) pointed out "retain their membership in professional associations outside their own country (p. 242)." This implies the continuation of faculty connections with the associations which keep him informed of the developments in his field. It also serves to shift the loyalty of the faculty to the association outside of Iran.

The Dowreh (informal gathering) is the second of Iranian university faculty responses to the absence of professional organizations.

These meetings, generally, are for cultural and intellectual communications rather than professional activities.

The tendency toward centralization in universities and the lack of support and interest by administrators to open channels of participation, is mainly due to the general condition in society and suspicions of faculty who were once quite radical in their political activities.

The consequences of traditional and historical factors, faculty characteristics, and organizational realities of Iranian universities manifest themselves in a faculty which is interested only in the transmission of knowledge rather than in combining this with scientific and scholarly research. In fact, there is nothing in the demands of the work at Iranian universities that requires such performance. Even his role and interests in teaching is marginal. His main task is to give lectures and see that students memorize them.

The result is a faculty member who is more interested in political rewards than professional rewards. For some faculty members, who realize these changes within themselves and do not feel comfortable, the only alternative would be migration.

SUMMARY

In Iran the high status of teachers in the universities traditionally has set them apart from the day-to-day operation of the organization and society in general. The scholarly life was not to be concerned with everyday affairs. Even when the university became involved in the preparation of administrators and later in professional training, involvement was not encouraged because of the potential political influence of the faculty. These historical and cultural factors are manifested in the present roles of university faculty which do not include active participation.

The situation in North America has differed from that of Iran since the early days. In Harvard, the case of the resident corporation composed of the president and faculty was perhaps the first sign of faculty involvement in university governance. Emerging goals such as research and service led to diversified faculty roles: teacher, researcher, and even participant in administrative decision-making. This chapter has reviewed and compared current rationales for faculty involvement, the factors which influence involvement, the means and extent of involvement, and the consequences.

The current acceptance of faculty involvement in North American university governance is grounded in three rationales: emphasis on community of scholars, right of citizenship, and the belief in better decisions through acceptance of decisions. The main trend is toward increased formal faculty participation in the operation of the university and, of course, the major problem has been to find the appropriate mechanisms. Unlike their counterparts in North America, the function of the faculty in Iranian universities is to teach and not to assume a role in decision-making. Furthermore, issues which have led to faculty participation in North American university governance have not surfaced in Iran. However, there are problems which could be remedied through faculty participation, and yet the main problem is how to stimulate the faculty to become involved.

The three major factors which influence faculty involvement in North American university governance are historical and cultural considerations, faculty characteristics, and campus characteristics. The history of faculty involvement reinforces the cultural belief in involvement and participation; however, variations occur according to the faculty and organizational characteristics. In contrast, the lack of a history of faculty participation in Iranian universities encourages non-involvement. The faculty radical activism in the past has also resulted in offical discouragement of participation.

There are a number of alternatives available for North American faculty to participate in university governance. The existence of these channels accentuates variation in the extent of involvement across faculty according to their individual characteristics. A relatively small proportion of faculty members are active and dominate main decision-making bodies. For the majority, involvement takes other forms such as informal participation. However, the important point is the presence of the opportunity for formal participation. In contrast, very limited opportunities exist for formal faculty involvement in Iranian universities. In the absence of meaningful internal and external means for a "faculty voice," their influence is exerted through informal channels on an individual basis.

The lack of formal mechanisms for faculty participation in the operation of Iranian universities results in a heavy reliance on practices which increase campus politicization which, in turn, reduces the possibility of establishing formal mechanisms. Consequently, Iranian faculty avoid confronting major problems, display a passive attitude and tend toward low productivity. In North America, the consequences of faculty involvement or non-involvement increase the possibility of conflict within faculty groups and between faculty professionals and administrators. Furthermore, the belief in desirability of involvement raises problems in regard to encouraging faculty participation. Where there is involvement, the development of suitable mechanisms and control procedures becomes a source of organizational problems.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROLE OF STUDENTS IN NORTH AMERICAN AND IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

The extensive amount of recent literature on student involvement in university governance is a sign of growing concern for a better understanding of students' roles in these academic institutions. To a large extent the significance of this issue dominates the relative importance of issues involving students in the literature. Although many reasons are presented in the literature in favor of student participation in the operation of universities, it is evident that student involvement is highly influenced by historical and cultural factors as well as by their characteristics and the characteristics of campuses which they attend. Consequently, these factors determine the ways and degrees of student participation in universities. However, as a result of student involvement or non-involvement, universities are facing many problems, to the point where increased conflict appears to be inevitable.

To grasp the existing potential challenges in the literature, this chapter is designed to identify the major issues which recently emerged as a consequence of student demand for involvement in the operation of universities. The role of students in the governance of the North American and Iranian universities is reviewed in terms of rationales for participation, factors which influence participation, means and extent involvement, and consequences and problems of participation. Furthermore, some future trends and proposals for student involvement in North American universities are discussed.

THE ROLE OF STUDENTS IN NORTH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

It is generally agreed that in the 1960's the campus was the domain of the students. Most North American campuses experienced the taste of disorder when students actively engaged in a wide range of demonstrations and protests. If the 1970's are marked by faculty activism, the consequences of which are yet uncertain, the result of student activism in the 1960's is now practically observable in almost all North American campuses. A new perception of the role of students has emerged out of the activism of the 1960's which to a large extent is different from the previous perceived role of students.

Issues Involving Students

It seems that the problems of access to the universities, finance, career preparation, and employment which once worried many university students are increasingly becoming issues of the past (Trow, 1970). The issue of access to the university has been replaced by mass higher education and recently universal higher education. Economic growth resulted in the availability of various forms of financial assistance for those students who could not afford the cost of their education. The issue of career preparation has been broadened to include the diverse ideas and philosophies of educating the "whole student" and the development of the potentialities and personalities of individual students, which in turn has modified the orientation of students toward employment and work. Indeed, the traditional model of students no longer corresponds with the image of students of today.

Thomas Wilson's (1964) study shows a shift in public concern over the role of students. He compared the title of articles on students published in periodicals during two 14 month periods in 1953-54 and 1963-64. His findings indicate that in 1963-64 the predominant classification of 66 percent of these articles was political activities, freedom, attitudes, and sex, compared to only three percent ten years earlier. He concludes that the issues surrounding students were more central to the role of colleges and universities in society and far from homecoming parties and football parades. Another study by Peterson (1966) indicates that the concerns of students in 1965 were civil rights, dormitory regulations, and the war in Vietnam; however, when Peterson (1968) replicated his study three years later, he found that student demands had shifted to the educational relevancy and governance.

These and other writings, such as those reported by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971a), on students and governance of universities combined with the manifestations of student unrest perhaps is an indication that involvement and participation is the major issue. Yet, the areas in which students demand participation seem to have shifted from administrative decisions to academic decision (Wilson and Gaff, 1969).

From the early 1960's, when student unrest and demonstrations began to appear on the North American campuses, many different explanations, whether psychological, economical, or sociological, have been expressed in the literature. None of these explanations of student unrest are totally right or totally wrong in their assumptions. Generally, these assumptions centred around the affluent society, the breakdown of the family, the cold war, the war in Vietnam and the draft, civil rights, modern technology, and even news media (Erikson, 1965; Halleck, 1968; Parsons, 1965; Fishman and Solomon, 1964; Feuer, 1969; Flacks, 1967; Keniston, 1965).

It has been claimed that all of these changes in societal context of North American universities reduced the loyalty of students toward their academic institutions. Furthermore, over the years the decline in student loyalty to their universities has changed their perceptions of and attitudes toward legitimate authority on campus (Otten, 1968). The legitimate authority of university administrators was first challenged by students to gain the right to control their own government. The administration's claim of university neutrality was considered by students as highly restrictive and biased. However, before 1964 the demand for formal participation of students in the determination and implementation of university rules was not expressed forcefully (Lipset, 1967). When the student movement started in the early 1960's, the students' concern was to gain the right to control their own affairs from the administrators and to change the rules which governed their lives on campus. Their awareness and use of the civil rights and the subsequent movement started at Berkeley in 1964 and was directed mainly toward the administration of American campuses (Draper, 1965).

After the Free Speech Movement in 1964, the challenges of students went beyond opposition to campus rules and the issue of student government to broader issues. The new goal of student groups appeared to be directed to participation in the administration of universities. Students' demand for involvement in the administration of universities received the support of many groups inside and outside the campuses. Perhaps the most important group inside the universities included the more radical faculty members who were actively engaged in the student demonstrations (Milton, 1966; Daniels, Kahn-Hut and Associates, 1970). This faculty support gave a new momentum to student unrest. Kenneth Keniston (1967) describes the effects of faculty support in the following comments:

> Today, in contrast, student protestors are . . . actively defended, encouraged, lionized, praised, publicized, photographed, interviewed, and studied by a portion of academic community. . . . In addition, the active participation of admired faculty members in protests, teach-ins and peace marches, acts as further incentive to students. Thus, in a minority of American colleges, sub-cultures have arisen where protest is felt to be both an important existantial act . . . and an effective way of bringing the machine to a halt . . . (p. 124).

Indeed, the support of some faculty members intensified student struggle for power, to the point where university administrators took a defensive position and were forced to involve students in the formal structure of decision-making of their respective campuses.

Subsequently, however, as students became more confident of their position in the power structure of universities, it seems that they shifted their attention toward academic decisions. Issues such as admission, degrees, scholarships, and examinations came to be perceived as significant causes on which to challenge the faculty. The observations of Kerr (1970a) are probably correct when he comments that:

> Earlier they (students) had asked for more freedom for themselves; now they wish to reduce the established authority of others. . . . The sharpest challenges may come to be between the faculty which once supported the students against the administration and the students who, having disposed of the administration as an intervening power, directly confront the faculty. On campus, the students are the new men of power (p. 112).

Today students demand to participate in decisions of curriculum design, teaching methods, and faculty evaluation. Furthermore, they try to extend their participation even in the areas of faculty promotions and faculty tenure. Recently, it seems that these demands have been echoed by university administrators. Probably what was once known as faculty support is being replaced by administrator support of students. In fact, Sirluck's (1970) observations support this conclusion. He believes that in the new power struggle, within Canadian universities, students and administrators are allied against faculty, while faculty looks to boards of governors and the central administration for proper protection. However, no matter what group is supporting the students, they are gaining increased power and the right to participate in the governance of North American universities.

Rationales for Student Participation

As the focus of demand of students for involvement has shifted from administrative decisions to academic decisions, it seems that the literature on students and university governance follows the same pattern. Generally though, through synthesizing the literature, the rationales for student participation can be divided into two categories of administrative and academic decisions, which are not mutually exclusive.

Administrative decisions. The first rationale for student participation in administrative decisions is based upon the assumption that today's students are more mature than were university students in the past. And, in fact, they are mature enough to be granted the right of citizenship (Brunson, 1969; Vaccaro and Covert, 1969). This right is quite different from the arguments over the right of academic freedom for students. The right of citizenship derives out of the fact that the age of majority has been reduced to 18; consequently, students are already young adults and will insist on being treated as such. Furthermore, in analyzing American society, Martin (1967) argues that:

> . . ., when the economy is increasingly geared to youth and eager to rush them into consumer roles, when parents push them into vocational choices and social responsibilities, and when the government hurries the young men into the military, it seems unlikely that colleges and universities can continue to characterize the college years as a moratorium between childhood and adult life. When young people come to the campus, they are young adults and should be treated accordingly (p. 174).

This rationale is consistent with student demands for freedom to protest and to demonstrate, and the right to make their political views known as do other citizens. This is, of course, with the understanding that they are willing to accept the consequences of their actions and to assume their responsibilities like any other member of society in case of violence and disruption.

The second reason for student involvement in administrative affairs of the university is related to the first assumption. It is claimed that one of the implicit functions of the university is socialization, and in the process of socialization, student should attain the independence and maturity of a responsible citizen of society. Therefore, administrators should willingly share their decisions with students (McGrath, 1970; McGrath, 1968; Bloustien, 1968). The emphasis here is that administrators have an obligation to prepare students for citizenship in the North American democratic society. The tendency of administrators to ignore student involvement, despite their constant demands, will produce a sense of distrust that will be imported by students to other organizations of the society. The underlying philosophy in this line of reasoning is the tendency of viewing the students as being in the process of maturing rather than accepting the view that they are already mature when they enter university.

The last rationale in the administration category which is against student exclusion from university governance is based on the idea of effective management. It is claimed that administrative decisions are more likely to be accepted by students if they exchange views with administrators in the formation of those decisions. This seems to be appropriate since the governance of today's universities consist largely of attempting to reconcile the demands of different interest groups. Harold Hodgkinson (1969b), who realizes the factional nature of university governance, concludes that:

> Factions are more interested in those aspects of governance which affect themselves than they are in those which affect the institution as a whole. Thus, if a campus is to be run on the factionalist, adversary model, the student self-interest is just as viable as that of faculty or administrators (p. 4).

Consequently, through sharing the decisions in their own areas of interests, students will learn to appreciate the interests of other constituencies.

Academic decisions. The major rationale in this category is the argument that students are the only direct observers of the traditional and most important function of the universities. As a group they indeed constitute the prime witness of teaching and teachers. Furthermore, as McGrath (1971) pointed out:

> . . . students today are determined to have a voice in the reform of educational practices and academic life. They intend to agitate for innovations which will gear education more completely to the conditions of living which they idealistically envisage for the future. . . . If they dedicate themselves to these goals, they can effect changes in colleges and universities which no other group has been able to accomplish (p. 200).

The combination of these two points form the assumption that student involvement in academic decision-making can be used as a source of feedback for curriculum design, teaching methods, and evaluation of faculty members. To the extent that student participation in academic areas is accepted, most writers leave the argument over the nature of student involvement to the individual university. The possible alternatives may range from informal consultation to equal voting for students and faculty at the highest level of decision-making.

The second reason for advocating student participation in academic decision-making processes is based on the improvement of the quality of life in the organizational structure of the university (Werdell, 1968; Governing a College, 1969a). Departments are the smallest, yet the most important, organizational units in which faculty and students can have a meaningful interaction. In fact, in today's "multiversities" academic departments may be considered the only place that teachers and learners can interact and enjoy a close relationship. It is in the nature of learning and teaching that academic departments should avoid the subordinate-superordinate relationships, so common in business and governmental organizations, and students should be treated with reciprocity and mutual understanding. Therefore, involving students in the academic decision-making processes of departments can eliminate, to a large extent, the existing impersonal relationship between faculty and students which characterizes the academic climate of many North American multiversities.

The last rationale for student participation in academic decision-making derives out of one aspect of the right of "academic freedom" for students. It is claimed that "academic freedom" means that faculty are free to choose what they want to teach, how they want to teach, and when they want to teach. To extend the right of "academic freedom" to students, therefore suggests that they should be free to choose what they want to learn, how they want to learn, and when they want to learn. It is obvious that both faculty and students will be affected by these kinds of decisions and since separate decisions on these aspects of teaching and learning by faculty and students may lead to confusion and chaos, it has been argued that the best result can be attained through mutual understanding and exchange of views (Kerlinger, 1968; Carter, 1969). Meaningful communication probably does not take place unless students participate in the academic decision-making of the university.

Factors Which Influence Participation

Among the many factors that may influence the ways in which and the extent to which students participate in university governance, three major categories have been identified.

Historical and cultural factors. Like the faculty of the early universities, students in pre-Civil War colleges and universities had no power in decision-making. They were regarded as consumers of university services and pupils rather than students in the modern sense. Presidents and faculty were supervisors of their academic as well as their limited social life on campus. One description of student reaction to authoritarian attitudes of administrators and faculty in pre-Civil War period is given by Solberg (1966):

> Students gained revenge on the authoritarianism of the colleges by resistance and insubordination. They defied faculty judgments, underscored their dissent with gunpowder explosions in college buildings, physically assaulted professors and presidents, and even whipped, shot and stabbed them (p. 305).

The reason for extreme student reaction might have been the lack of personal and friendly relations between faculty and students. However, few colleges and universities were able to deal successfully with the issues of student discipline. Here and there, colleges introduced and allowed students to form organizations to control their own affairs (Cowley, 1935). Despite these innovations, the most persistent response of students to the pre-Civil War colleges was rebellion and riot. Even the introduction of the elective system, which was one of the first tools by which students succeeded in demonstrating some power (Veysey, 1965), did not prevent further violence.

In later years as university enrollments increased, students' freedom became relevant, but again students did not acquire any place in university governance. However, after the Civil War, student violence gradually subsided. Brubacher and Rudy (1968) indicate the reasons:

> First, there were important changes in the curriculum that helped to create a new attitude on the campus. Secondly, many colleges were doing away with their excessively rigorous systems of college discipline and were beginning to treat their students as young adults. Thirdly, coeducation in many institutions was coming to exercise a moderating and pacifying influence on the conduct of male students. Fourthly, the rise of intercollegiate athletic sports and the fraternity system was tending to absorb much of the superaboundant youthful energies which in earlier times had gone into fomenting rebellions. Finally, many institutions had now ceased to require police duties of tutors, and had hired a special force of men to police their grounds and buildings (p. 57).

Although these changes at that time were regarded as noble innovations, none of them were directed toward direct involvement of students in university governance.

The combination of all these factors, however, resulted in the separation of student formal life in the classroom and their informal life which manifested itself in extra-curricular activities. The trend toward expansion of these activities through fraternities, athletics, student newspapers, clubs, and student government, to a large extent eliminated the pressures for student rebellion. Subsequently, many forms of student government emerged. From student committees to maintain the rules in the dormitories to the actual delegation of authority for control of disciplinary matters. Yet all of these movements for student self-government were with the understanding that whenever university administration and faculty considered students as being unable to manage, they had the right to intervene (Tead, 1951).

After the First World War, to bring the informal life of students closer to their formal classroom training and to prevent domination of extra-curricular activities over curriculum activities, various additional plans for student government were developed and a new movement began for training student service personnel. Brubacher and Rudy (1968) describe these developments as "participation in the maintenance of discipline, regulations of examinations (the honor system), and supervision of dormitory regulations (p. 345)." Despite these developments, student government was still under constant supervision by universities.

The increasing rate of enrollment after the Second World War and the heterogeneous characteristics of the student body in the North American universities combined with the rapid changes in the value pattern of society resulted in the widespread demand of students in the 1960's for participation in university governance. A period which probably will be called by historians of higher education as the student era. To a large extent the new student unrest resembled the rebellion of students in pre-Civil War colleges. The lesson seems to be simple but effective; rebellion and unrest might be the most efficient way to obtain a favourable response.

Characteristics of students. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to characterize a large heterogeneous body of students as in the North American universities. Yet, it seems that almost all of the writings on student characteristics are based upon the arbitrary distinction between two opposite extremes, the alienated and the activist students. Furthermore, it seems that the alienated and activist students are highly related to the issue of student participation in university governance.

The alienated students show an outlook of extreme pessimism about politics and political action. Their philosophy is existential in scope and they are anti-traditional concerning life, society and self. The alienated students distrust all positive thinking and while they are critical of the present society, they do not appear to wish to actively change society. Perhaps "hippies" are the best example of this group. The alienated students feel more alone in society and tend to be quiet, trying to develop their own way of life. They do not demonstrate any particular orientation for the future, rather their main concern is the here and now (Thompson, 1970; Keniston, 1967; Rogers, 1969; Becker, 1967; Bell and Kristol, 1969; Erikson, 1965; Feuer, 1969). Probably a realistic conclusion from these observations is to assume this type of student does not engage in radical demonstrations and student unrest and demonstrates a passive attitude toward involvement in university governance.

The opposite of this type of protest is demonstrated by aggressive, active students who are trying to change society by socially acceptable or unacceptable methods. The radicals or activists are highly committed to change, whether personal or societal. While the alienated students lack the commitment for change, the activists are the aggressors with a firm belief that they are right. Generally, they are opposed to and reject most of the conventional middle-class values, yet in the absence of acceptable models they are unsuccessful in replacing them with a new set of values (Sampson and Korn, 1970; Bakk, 1964; Fishman, 1964; Committee on the Students in Higher Education, 1968). It seems from the typology of activists that these students not only are engaged in all forms of demonstrations but they are perhaps the only segment of the student body which persistently demands participation and change in university governance.

It should be noted that "there are many other students who fall between these two extremes, and some of them alternate between passionate efforts to remedy social and political injustices (Keniston, 1967, p. 114)." Since activists are the major source of student movements and the prime advocates of student involvement in university governance, most of the speculations and empirical data centre around the characteristics of student activists.

A general picture of the socio-economic background of student activists indicates that they come from middle to upper-class families. They do not strive to gain status, since most of them are already born with status and affluence. Data on family backgrounds of these students clearly shows the dominance of an open climate for self-expression within the family. Furthermore, individuality and independence are highly encouraged, sometimes to the point of re-examination of all traditional values of family and society. Explicitly, the political views of activists are the same as their parents, although the latter might not have had a chance to express them when they were at that age.

In contrast to the popular view of student activists, they are usually among the more outstanding students. In fact, one hypothesis is that the higher the academic achievement of students, the more likely that they will be involved in political demonstrations (Sampson and Korn, 1970). Student activists carry a high degree of intellectualism and attach relatively low priority to careerism. In contrast to the career oriented students in the fields of engineering, technology and business, and education, activists come, in large proportion, from the humanities and social sciences. They are highly concerned about the right of the individual and humanitarian values.

Perhaps this is why they emphasize the importance of civil rights and are distrustful of internal administrators and external political pressures on campus (Westby and Braungart, 1966; Keniston, 1970).

Campus characteristics. No matter how active an individual student may be, he alone cannot make a significant impact on existing practices. When the analysis of student activists shifts from individual cases to students as a group, the characteristics of universities in which they enrol seem to be highly related to their involvement. The images of universities, their organizational climate, their size, and the type of control seems to influence the means and extent of student participation in campus protests.

To be effective in organizing protests and demonstrations, student activists have to get together. Their views of the universities, based on the outside image and reputation of these institutions, is highly related to the proportion of student activists who are present in a specific university. Universities with reputations of high academic standards and excellence and universities with higher degrees of admission selectivity seem to be favoured by student activists. However, one speculation may be that the disappointment of students tends to increase when they discover the differences between reputational image of a university and its internal realities. Generally, though, the perceived challenge which these types of universities do promise probably attracts potential student activists (Peterson, 1966; Scott and El-Assal, 1969; Goldsen, 1966).

The organizational structure of the universities constitutes another factor which seems to influence student involvement. In contrast with the universities which facilitate participation through openness of communication channels, those institutions which rely on bureaucratic rules and formal communication seem to stimulate student unrest and protest. The response of universities to student demonstrations may take the form of increasing regularization and impersonalization, which in turn automatically increases the chance of more demonstrations and protests (Sampson and Korn, 1970; Huston, 1969).

Implicit in this assumption is the openness of the relationship of student government to the university. Those universities that closely supervise the social life of students and directly intervene in the activities of student government produce a climate which seems to encourage student activism. Yet, to the extent that North American universities, theoretically as well as in practice, do not assume the responsibilities of in loco parentis, it can be aruged that the close supervision of student social life does not exist any more.

Some writers provide empirical data which support the inclusion of the type of universities as a significant factor which influences student involvement. For example, Williamson and Cowan (1966) indicate that private universities are subject to more student demonstrations than public universities. Although both types of universities enrol a student body with more social and political awareness, it is in private universities that demonstrative techniques are observable. A recent study by Hodgkinson (1971a), however, found no significant differences between private and public institutions in terms of the effect of type of control on student demonstrations.

Perhaps the single most important factor which has been reported in the literature which has a significant effect on student unrest is the size of the university (Westby and Braungart, 1966). Bayer and Astin (1969), in their study of 305 universities in the United States, indicate that as the size of the universities grow larger in terms of their enrollment, there is a sharp increase in the percentage of violent protests. Almost all writers in the field acknowledge the effect of size on student demonstrations for involvement. Scott and El-Assal (1969), in their study of 104 colleges and universities, conclude that "large, complex, high quality schools had a much higher rate of demonstrations per school than small, simple, low quality schools (p. 709)." It must be noted that the significance of size should be considered in the light of its connection with the bureaucratization of universities. As universities grow in size and complexity, they tend to move toward more bureaucratic rules and it seems that the effect of increased bureaucratization may influence "demonstrative techniques" (Chickering, 1969).

Means and Extent of Participation

Student participation can take many forms. These forms range from non-involvement on the part of alienated students to the other extreme which is full scale riot, a lobbying force, protests, sit-ins, and strikes which can be classified as the political mode. There is another alternative which falls somewhere between non-involvement and the political mode; that is participation through formal channels of university decision-making processes. Furthermore, student participation in formal decision-making bodies of the universities can be either in a consultative or a voting capacity.

Political mode. The political mode, so familiar to the students of Latin America and most developing countries, can be defined as a method of rioting and demonstrating to gain the right of participation in university governance. This, of course, is based on the assumption that student unrest is a simple phenomenon; that is, in terms of student activism and its direct relation to the demand for involvement in university governance. However, this technique can take at least two forms. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971b) differentiates between dissent and disruption as two main ingredients of campus unrest. It defines dissent as:

> Individual or organized activity which expresses grievances held against, or changes desired in, society or a campus or both. The activities are carried on within the limits of the democratic processes of freedom of speech, assembly, and petition. . . . It often includes proposed solutions as well as complaints (p. 5).

This definition is based on democratic persuasion and respect for the rights of others. Disruption, however, is an act of force and violence and according to the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971b) can be divided into two broad categories:

> 1. Coercion. Interference with the normal activities of other persons and groups on the campus, but stopping short of violence. . . . Examples include interference with a person's right to speak, obstructive picketing, and obstructive sit-ins.
>
> 2. Violence. Behavior which wilfully inflicts or seriously threatens to inflict physical injury on individuals, or damage to property, or both. Examples include beatings, rock throwing, and destruction of buildings (pp. 5-6).

Therefore, while dissent seems to be rather essential for a free society in North America, disruption tends to violate the principle upon which not only the university but the whole society is based.

The exclusion of some radical means by definition, however, does not mean that some of the students did not use the political mode as a means to influence university governance. In fact, the realities of the 1960's clearly demonstrate the adoption and use of this technique by students. Generally, all writers in the field agreed that a small proportion of students were actively engaged in political and disruptive demonstrations. The findings of empirical data from the mid-1960's show an average of five to ten percent of the students who were involved in radical demonstrations would be considered as student activists. At the same time, the [illegible] data reveal the fact that there was growing sympathy from the majority of students toward activist demonstrations (Seligman, 1969; Keniston, 1968; Califano, 1970; Peterson, 1966; Heist, 1965; Baird, 1968).

The survey of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971b) at the end of the 1960's shows that still the majority of students were not engaged in campus demonstrations. Yet, it seems that some of those who were sympathetic to student activists in the mid-1960's joined the demonstrations to the extent that 30 percent of the students claimed that they participated in demonstrations of a non-disruptive nature. Engagement in non-disruptive activities can be expected due to the general decline of radical activities of students. The important point is that 30 percent of a total student body of more than seven million in the United States alone has a high potential to shape and form the future of higher education in the United States, at least as far as the issue of governance is concerned.

Formal participation. In the late 1960's student participation in governance of North American universities became an acceptable norm. Generally, formal involvement of students has been through participation in university committee structure, academic senate, or even in the board of trustees or it can take the form of observation, consultation, or voting membership in various decision-making bodies of universities.

In contrast to the slower development of higher education in Canada, the response of universities to student demands for participation in governance was far faster and more encouraging than in the United States. In Canada, following the publication of the Duff and Berdahl (1966) report, considerable changes have taken place in the governance structure of the universities. One of the recommendations of the report was the formal inclusion of students as voting members in various decision-making bodies of Canadian universities. Today an analysis of governance structure of these universities clearly indicates the wide implementation of those recommendations to varying degrees. From universities' acts and handbooks, it is observable that in almost all universities students are represented in senate committee structures and to a lesser extent in the board of governors. Examples can be identified in Dalhousie University which has three students on the board of governors, McGill University which has three student representatives on the board, and the University of Alberta with two undergraduate and one graduate student representative as the voting members on the board of governors. Student participation in academic senates appears to be more common since senates can accommodate larger memberships than the boards. Proportionately, the students who are involved in this formal manner represent only a small fraction of the student body in Canada.

Although the demand for student involvement in campus decision-making began on campuses in the United States, the overall trend still reflects a more conservative attitude toward student participation in university governance. Evidence of student formal participation in American universities is given by Hodgkinson (1969b):

> In addition to the areas which relate directly to student life, such as dorms and food service, there are over 100 campuses which now have student membership on all campus long-range planning committees (along with faculty, administration, and sometimes trustees), and on central campus boards established to deal with problems of communication and coordination. These are variously referred to as campus senates, advisory boards, community councils, policy committees, etc. (p. 3).

Probably the extent of student participation in the governance of American universities has increased since 1969, although the available literature does not supply this information.

Various reports from univer[illegible] self-study committees support this speculation. Mention can be made of the Governance Report: Queens College of the City University of New York (1969); the Jencks Report (1969) for the New Hampshire University; and that of Williams (1968), for the Florida Atlantic University and many more. All of these reports encourage and recommend student participation in their respective universities. However, it must be noted that student involvement in the board of trustees of American universities is limited to the expression of their views. Harold Hodgkinson (1969b) indicates that "a number of campuses have even worked out ways in which student representatives can meet with trustees to discuss views although very few institutions have students as voting members on the board (p. 3)." Hodgkinson's observation tends to show the present practices in American universities.

The report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) indicates the highly increased willingness of students toward participation in university governance, but it does not show the number of students who actually were included in various decision-making bodies of universities. Furthermore, there are no data available to indicate what proportion of the students who actually participate in university governance were among those who actively demanded participation. To the extent that this small portion of students represents the potential student activists in North American universities, it seems that student involvement in governance is no different from that of the general populace in the political democracy of the larger society.

Consequences and Problems

The realities of the 1960's in North America, in part, can be considered as an indication of the existence of conflict between administrators, faculty, and students. Even today in the absence of widespread student demonstrations, the internal conflict is observable. In fact, the nature of student interests and demands encourage conflict-oriented relationships with faculty and administrators.

Conflicts. The demand of students to share traditionally academic decisions with faculty is one source of conflict which characterizes the governance of North American universities. In the past "Faculty members have taken it for granted that what is good for them is good for students (Duster, 1968, p. 15)." Today, however, there are distinct student interests which conflict with faculty in some areas of academic decisions. The arguments over research and teaching, curriculum design, and methods of instruction are but a few of these mutual areas of interest (Leslie, 1970; Jencks, 1969). Recently the interests and demands of students have been extended even to the area of faculty promotion, faculty recruitment, and faculty tenure which inevitably deepens the existing conflicts between faculty and students. Parsons and Platt (1970) outline the basis of faculty and student conflict. They believe:

> Faculty members manifest hierarchical superiority over students on three bases, all of which are challenged today by the equalitarian tendencies of the student peer structure. The first basis of hierarchy is age status. Thus any residual antagonism toward parents or to adults generally can be applied

> to faculty. The second is superior competence in the subject matters involved in the educational process. The third is the exercise of authority through grading or recommendations (p. 20).

The conservative nature of university faculty and the progressive attitudes of today's students seems to intensify the situation to the point where faculty may move toward unionization.

Faculty, of course, is not the only group which is experiencing the new trend. Administrators too, even before faculty, had to guard their own area of responsibility against student demands for participation. During the three hundred year development of colleges and universities in North America there have always been some issues over which administrators and students were in disagreement. Today, however, the existing conflict goes deeper than disagreement; that is, today the very authority of administrators is questioned by students (Vaccaro, 1969). University presidents, deans, and department chairmen, to different degrees, confront students who demand to share their authority. Usually administrators assume the outcome of sharing their authority with students is an indication of losing some of their own authority (Foster and Law, 1970; Kerr, 1963). To the extent that students' challenge tends to reduce administrator authority while it serves to increase student authority, and to the extent that significant approaches to resolving the problem have not been identified, conflict is inevitable.

Another source of conflict between students and universities is between the students themselves. The large heterogeneous body of the North American universities displays diverse and conflicting modes of interests. While conflict between students may decrease at the departmental level, there is evidence of a sharp increase in conflict between students at the college, school, and university levels, especially in terms of their participation in governance. Martin Trow's (1971) study shows students are differentiated in the extent of their participation in the areas of student discipline, provision and content of courses, admission policy, and faculty appointment and promotion, to name only a few. Furthermore, student groups are divided among themselves in their capacity for full control, voting power on committees, formal consultation, informal consultation, and non-involvement. In the light of these data, it seems there is less mutual interest and more conflict between American university students on the issue of participation in governance than is frequently assumed.

Problems. The argument against student participation in university governance is mostly based upon the problems which their involvement may create. A series of problems was identified which related to the ways in which students see their participation, although they may not be restricted to students alone.

Some student representatives may perceive their role as demanding what they have been told to demand and express no desire to discuss anything else (Bowles, 1968). Another group of student representatives may be concerned only to press their own group's point of view and take no responsibility for anything with which they do not agree. In this situation they are not concerned about the good of the university as a whole (Governing a College, 1969b; Susman, 1968). Still another group of student representatives may discuss issues on their general merits and take general or collective responsibility for decisions (Watts, 1970; McGrath, 1968). It is claimed that, in most cases, student participation in university governance takes the form in which student representatives see their roles as merely to protect and pursue other students' interests.

There are two more points closely related to the implications of student representatives perception of their role in decision-making processes of universities. The first problem resides in the argument that the nature of the main structural unit of decision-making may change; that is, the functions of committees in universities may change to bargaining from a cooperative attempt for effective making of decisions (Mayhew, 1969; Trow, 1970). The second point which has been raised in the literature indicates that student representatives represent only a minority of students and therefore they hardly bring the views of all of the students to the committees (Golden and Rosen, 1966). However, it can be argued that this is the characteristic of most representative democratic systems.

Unlike the faculty, convincing students on the merits of participation does not seem to be a problem, since more and more students are demonstrating a willingness for formal involvement. Instead, the problem may be to convince students not to participate in university governance. The real problem, however, is to design an appropriate mechanism which can accommodate different extents of student participation in different levels of university decision-making processes.

Another set of problems is related to the short-term commitment of students in universities, inevitable delays in decisions, accountability, and the fact that student participation in university governance may lower their academic standing since they have to devote more time to their new role. But, generally, these problems can be considered secondary compared to the magnitude of the first and second set of problems.

Trends and Future Proposals

Beginning in the midst of student protests and demonstrations in the 1960's, a substantial number of university self-studies have been conducted. In this regard, the literature on students is full of proposals concerning student participation in university governance. Most of these proposals, however, are directed toward the students and governance structure of specific campuses. Except in the case of Canadian universities (Duff and Berdahl, 1966; Commission on the Government of the University of Toronto, 1970), an examination of the literature showed that those proposals which have more general applicability (American Council on Education, 1970; The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970; White House Conference on Youth, 1971; Report of the American Bar Association Commission on Campus Governance and Student Dissent, 1970) are in line with the recommendations of various reports of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

Implicit in the governance proposals by commissions, as well as the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, is the general belief in the desirability of involving students in campus governance. Therefore, the first recommendation of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) asserts that university "Governance arrangements should provide: (1) adequate academic options from among which students may choose, and (2) the right to be heard on important campus issues (p. 71)." This does not mean, however, that students' right to express their views in less important issues is not proposed, rather it is assumed that important issues are those in which students may really be interested.

Except in the case of universities in Canada, proposals generally do not recommend the inclusion of students as voting members in the board of trustees and even faculty senates. Rather committee membership in selective areas, which are descirbed as the areas of direct student interests, is the most common recommendation. For example, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) recommends:

> Students should serve on joint faculty-student (or trustee-student or administrative-student) committees with the right to vote or should have their own parallel student committees with the right to meet with faculty, trustee, and administrative committees in areas of special interest and competence such as educational policy and student affairs.

It should be noted that this recommendation is based on the assumption that the most effective contribution of students to university governance can be made through consultative-participation.

To extend the consultative approach to academic areas of faculty evaluation, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) proposes that "students should be given the opportunity to evaluate the teaching performance of faculty members, and students should be involved in periodic reviews of the performance of departments (p. 71)." This recommendation includes student participation in faculty promotion and faculty tenure (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973).

Finally, it is generally proposed that student government, social life, and extra-curricular activities should be directed by students with the help of faculty and administrators and with a minimum of intervention from the university. To minimize the probability of misunderstanding and conflict between student and the university, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) recommends:

> Conduct codes should be prepared with student involvement in the process of their preparation, ombudsmen or their equivalent should be appointed, and formal grievance machinery should be available and should end in impartial judicial tribunals (p. 71).

The overall picture of proposals in the United States, in contrast to Canada, is representing student involvement in selected areas of university decision-making as voting members and participation in all areas of university governance in a consultative capacity. In both Canada and the United States, it is proposed that areas of student discipline, government, and extra-curricular activites should be left in the hands of students.

Trends. It is very unlikely that increased participation of students in university governance will result in decreased student protests and demonstrations in the future (Hodgkinson, 1971a). Historically, the demands of students for involvement in university decision-making processes has shown a cyclical nature. Much depends on the issues which may arise out of internal or external conditions on campuses and in society respectively. Furthermore, with the idealistic orientation of most students and their international view of issues any problem in any part of the world may cause another period like the 1960's. From political demonstrations and protests to demands for more involvement in university governance is a very short step. In addition, it is too soon to anticipate the reaction of North American university students to the faculty movement toward collective bargaining and unionization.

However, there is no reason not to believe that the present move toward increased involvement of students in the formal structure of university governance will not continue. Despite the findings of Gross and Grambsch (1974) that very little change is perceived in the student power between 1964 and 1971, the truth would probable be that yesterday's requests very often become today's demands and may be tomorrow's normal practice. This is perhaps the way social change very often, if not usually, occurs. To being with what students want is considered outrageous, after a while it is considered debatable and subject to bargaining, and today those demands are considered something fairly reasonable that universities should concede.

What is being demanded by that time is always something far more unreasonable. This is more or less the way student involvement has progressed, and it seems this is also the way it will happen in North American universities, as well as most universities in the world.

PERSPECTIVE ON STUDENTS IN IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES

There appear to be two major perceptions of the role of students in governance of Iranian universities. On the one hand the position of administrators and faculty is highly similar to Perkins' argument against student involvement in the decision-making process of the American universities. James Perkins (1966) believes that ". . . the student is a student. He is at the university to learn, not to manage; to reflect, not to decide; to observe, not coerce. The process of learning like the process of research, is in the end a most private affair, requiring for the most part detachment and not engagement (p. 51)." This attitude of Iranian universities toward students is based upon two assumptions. First, Iranian students are in the universities to learn and therefore their participation in the university governance is not an issue. That is, as the reason for faculty members being in universities is to teach, so the reason for having students in the universities is to let them learn their subject matter, obtain their degrees, and go out into society.

Furthermore, and probably the important basis of the authoritarian attitude of the universities, is the belief that not only is student involvement in governance not an issue but it ought not be an issue. The belief in university education as a privilege rather than a right and the fact that government spends a high percentage of its scarce resources for educating university students intensifies the philosophy that students should limit their interests to studying.

On the other hand the position of students is just the opposite of that of the faculty and administrators. If universities believe that student involvement ought not be an issue, perhaps because of its political implications, students claim and demand, on the same ground, participation in governance. It should be noted, however, that political implications of student involvement in governance of Iranian universities does not necessarily mean its external relationship to government. It can also mean its implications for internal politics of universities. Yet, it is generally observable that because of politicization of the universities, any problem of any magnitude in Iranian universities, not to mention the whole society, can politically be directed toward government. In contrast to the North American university students, Iranian student demands for university reform and participation in academic activities leads, almost inevitably, to demands for reform of society and participation in political life and exercise of political power.

In addition to the demands for participation in university governance, there are many other important issues for students in

Iranian universities. Mention can be made of some of these problems, such as access to the university, finance, housing, text books, instruction, examinations, and personnel services to name only a few. In fact, as Brammer (1964) shows, some Iranian students are highly concerned about these issues. His findings in a sample of 131 students from three universities in Iran indicate the major problems for students to be finance, examinations, personal problems, and sex. Yet, it seems after students enter the universities these issues become another reason for demanding participation in decision-making processes of Iranian universities. In the light of these observations student participation was considered an issue of vital importance to the analysis of university governance in Iran.

Means of Influence

The exercise of influence in Iranian universities is carried out primarily within a network of informal activities. Among the few available alternatives, Iranian students' choice of political pressure is the most common. This political pressure, as in the case of faculty members, may take the form of family ties, friendship, lobbying, and social connections. It can also, unlike the faculty members, manifest itself in the form of demonstrations, unrest, strike, and occupying university grounds and buildings. In both cases the use of informal, as against formal, channels of participation is the normal practice. And, in both cases, the existing formal channels of participation are viewed by students as unreliable and unproductive.

In the absence of a crises it seems most Iranian university students act as individuals whose main concerns are personal problems. They seldom react to the university as a group or a sub-group of the student body. Since their university life is governed by regulations which they have had no share in forming and generally no participation in making, university rules and regulations are viewed as secondary targets for consideration. Perhaps more important are the primary targets which consist mainly of some of the faculty and administrators. Students seem to believe that these "power holders" are the initiators and defenders of university rules. Consequently, to bypass and ignore a rule or regulation they have to deal with these individuals who actually are hiding behind the rules. Realization and recognition of these "power holders" is subject to individual student perception of power and the nature of their specific problems. However, when they attempt to influence the decision-making process or more accurately to influence the "power holders," they follow the same pattern; namely, informal pressure. This is probably when family ties, friendship, and socio-political connections work astonishingly well.

Not all Iranian students, of course, posses proper informal connections for influencing the governance of the universities. They may try some of the informal techniques but generally not all of them are successful all of the time. The increased frequency of unsuccessful attempts combined with the lack of capacity on the part of the university organizations to absorb student complaints sometimes leads to demonstrations and strikes. At the time of strike or demonstrations, students act as if they are united but it seems even then that individuality is quite notable. To that extent their strikes and demonstrations seem unreal and insignificant.

It should be kept in mind that although a vast majority of Iranian students may use informal means of involvement there are students who may choose formal channels of participation as a first alternative. Yet since the existing channels do not adequately respond to the needs and demands of students, it seems they eventually shift their attitudes and return to informal participation.

Explanation of Choice of Means

Traditionally in Iran education in general, and higher education in particular, was viewed as a tool for personal advancement in society. From the beginning, when only a few students were selected for university education, up to the present time, when thousands of students enrol in the universities, this philosophy has remained the same. That is, a university degree is a prerequisite to entering upper levels of society and to attaining higher positions in the governmental bureaucracy. Despite the arguments around the validity and reliability of entrance examinations, it was assumed that those who enter the universities are among the ablest and talented youth who will be privileged by some kind of university degree.

Furthermore, Iranian students, who were quite aware of this fact, not only considered themselves as a privileged group of the general public but they also perceived this privilege as a legitimate power. As soon as they entered the university they were secure just by being a student. Universities were regarded as places in which they were free to challenge the government without accepting the responsibilities and the consequences of their actions. Soon they found they could gain more attention from the university through politically oriented activities. This attitude, however, did not last too long and it seems that from the early 1960's up to the present time the interests of Iranian students shifted toward governance of the universities. The last two major demonstrations of students in Iranian universities in 1968 and 1971 were signs of the changes in student orientations. Besides, it is very important to realize that Iranian student demonstrations were not completely original and independent. Rather to a large part these strikes were initiated by groups outside the university and perhaps even outside the society and according to these groups' interests.

At present university degrees are still regarded as an important condition for personal and vertical mobility in society on the basis of a very competitive national entrance examination one out of every ten students enter Iranian universities. Because of expansion of university systems and increased enrollment combined with the political changes in the 1960's, universities cannot be considered secure enough for students to hold the kind of power previous Iranian students enjoyed.

Today's students seem to be relatively less politically oriented than university students in the 1950's. But, despite these changes in attitudes, universities do not trust students sufficiently to grant them a meaningful participation in the governance of their institutions.

Another factor which influences the choice of informal participation by Iranian students is the continuation of an old practice. The elite nature of Iranian students in early universities did not raise any realization of the need for formal involvement. It was just an extension of student practices within the larger society. Once they planted this approach in Iranian universities gradually it became a normal way of life. So far from every generation of students this firmly entrenched practice has been passed to the new generation of freshmen.

Student characteristics. The individualistic character of Iranian students is generally observable; a good illustration of this can be shown in the field of sports. In Iran, the success of team sports has always been less impressive than individual attempts in wrestling or weight-lifting. The essence of cooperation and team work is negligible, and the perception of group activities is against the activities of another group. Interpersonal conflicts and competitions prevent meaningful cooperation. The tension, mistrust, and rivalries in interpersonal relationships not only make team work achievement extremely difficult but also provides a negative attitude toward competition. "Negative competition," from this point of view can be regarded as the constant attempts of an individual to prevent someone from achieving a specific goal, when he realizes that he himself has no chance of success. Frequent examples of this attitude are visible in Iranian universities. For example, if a number of students are competing for a limited number of scholarships, the first reaction of those who do not receive the scholarship is to attempt to prevent others from getting it through any means, including criticism.

The criticisms of Iranian students take the form of personal and private attacks on individuals rather than on general issues; persons become more important than the problems themselves. The content of criticisms centres around the perceived weaknesses and character of the individuals who are under attack. This attitude partly derives out of the feeling of insecurity which Iranian students experience.

Partly because of this insecurity, Iranian students are extremely oriented toward acceptance of authority. In Iran the respect for authority is traditionally accepted. The relationships between parent and child, teacher and student, old and young, rank and file, and peasant and landlord are all examples of the acceptance of authority in social relationships. The main orientation is to obey and not to challenge authority. Because of this perception Iranian university students constantly look upward to locate authority and look downward to exercise authority. No reference can be made to horizontal relations since people at the same level cannot have authority relationships. The students' perception of authority at times may manifest itself in attitudes like extreme politeness and kindness and even to cover their feelings of distrust and hostility toward those who control the university.

Organizational realities. Centralized administrative structures of Iranian universities encourage very little student participation. In fact, if faculty has a chance to participate in departmental level decision-making, Iranian students are totally denied any formal involvement. The social structure of the universities is designed to keep Iranian students away from the important people on campus; the administrative organization of Iranian universities pays little attention to the needs and problems of students and the development of the student's personalities.

This lack of a formal mechanism for student participation in university governance resulted in widespread demonstrations in 1968 which ended with the takeover of the buildings. This was not, of course, the first experience of the students in demonstrations, but this time they seemed to be serious particularly for their direct interests. This time most of their demands were related to their way of life as students and to an institution in which they witnessed their instructors as having little willingness for teaching and research and for devoting time to their followers. Their cause was much more visible within the context of the universities and the issues they raised seemed to be more relevant.

The intensity of student demands and the realization of the need for a coordinative body for Iranian universities resulted in the resignation of the presidents of all eight universities and the establishment of the new Ministry of Science and Higher Education in 1968.

Responses and Consequences

So far the main responses of the Iranian universities and government to the student demand for involvement have been the creation of placement offices within the universities and the establishment of summer camps (Imperial Government of Iran, 1973). The placement offices were charged with the responsibility of providing part-time jobs for students inside and outside the universities. In addition, students receive from the Prime Minister's office direct financial assistance in the form of monthly payments. Furthermore, universities supply the office of the Prime Minister with a list of those students who are eligible for financial assistance. The determination for eligibility is based upon good behavior in the university, at least an average academic standing, and the discretion of those who supply the list. In addition, the government has urged the universities to provide closer contact between students and faculty through establishing adviser-advisee mechanisms at the departmental level, and to provide more extra-curricular activities for students.

All of these voluntary attempts on the part of the government and universities can be considered secondary insofar as they fail to create an atmosphere of willingness to understand the demands of the students. Government and university responses seem to be based upon political manipulative techniques and direct financial rewards to students. The outcome of these practices is to move universities more and more toward politicization and to confirm the attitudes of students toward university governance participation.

The consequences of ignoring the basic issue of student involvement in university governance is an attitude of indifference and alienation toward university and society and student distrust of all positive thinking. The motivation of students toward university education is degree-oriented rather than to view it as a process of career preparation. Because of their indifference and mistrust, students are reluctant to accept responsibility and they move toward more individuality and away from cooperation.

SUMMARY

During the 1960's student activism characterized most of the campuses in many countries. Although the stimulus for this activism had its source in the broader society in North America and on the campus itself in Iran, the demand in each case was for greater student involvement.

The belief held by many students was that they formed the only group which could bring about meaningful changes in society by influencing the university to adopt a more active stance. A necessary step toward this more active role was for students to become more influential in the governance of universities. The conditions of the 1960's are still evident in current beliefs and practices relating to student participation.

The major rationales for student involvement in the governance of North American universities are divided into the two main areas of administrative decisions and academic decisions. Student participation in the administrative area is justified by recognition of maturity, training responsible citizens, and effective management. In academic decisions these reasons include improvement of the quality of life at the department level, the student right of academic freedom, and the fact that students are prime witnesses to the teaching function. Similar to the faculty in North American universities, the main problem is to increase formal student participation through appropriate mechanisms. In contrast, the perception of student roles in Iranian universities is limited to the area of formal learning, and therefore student involvement in governance is viewed as something which should not be an issue.

As in the case of faculty, the three major sets of factors which influence student participation in North American universities are historical and cultural consideration, student characteristics, and campus characteristics. Historically, there is evidence of continuing student struggle for controlling their own affairs. The acceptance of the idea of student self-government encouraged student demand for involvement in university governance. In addition to history and culture, variations in the students and university characteristics in North America are the major factors which influence student participation. In Iran, traditionally the privilege of university education was viewed as the main step toward personal success and upward social mobility. History shows that later students found the university as a safe place for political activities which had potential consequences for government. The combination of these two factors provides a lack of trust among student, universities, and government, and hence discourages student involvement in university governance.

In fact, very few alternatives are available for student participation in the operation of Iranian universities. Iranian students view the university as the prime means for influencing government and society which contrasts with the attitudes of North American university students. In the absence of meaningful alternatives, political pressure is the major device for student involvement. The participation of students in the operation of North American universities takes many forms and shapes due to the existence of alternative channels. Relatively few students are active participants; yet, there is evidence of a growing concern of students for involvement in university governance.

Because of the heterogeneous nature of the student body in North American universities, the consequence of their involvement or non-involvement is an increase in conflict among students themselves. Furthermore, there are growing signs of conflict between students and administrators on one hand and students and faculty on the other. Problems of student involvement take the form of variation in their perception toward representative participation and the inevitable changes in the climate and nature of various decision-making bodies. Perhaps the most important problem is designing an appropriate mechanism which can accommodate the demands of students for participation. In contrast, the responses of government and universities in Iran to the issue of student involvement is further discouragement through creation of placement offices on campus and direct financial help. This, in turn, adds to the increased politicization of the university and results in indifference, passive attitudes and individualistic behavior on the part of students.

CHAPTER VIII

UNIVERSITIES AND SOCIETAL CHANGE IN IRAN

This chapter is intended to present an overview of the current context of Iranian universities; the societal changes which are taking place will be outlined and their possible implications for the operation of the universities will be assessed. A general discussion of the possible responses of universities to these changes concludes the chapter.

Since there are notable differences in the rapidity of these changes, depending on the support or resistance which they encounter and also their priority, no attempt will be made to describe the societal changes in Iran at a given point in time. These changes are viewed as being in a transitional process which originated in the recent past and which will continue into the future. This approach provides an opportunity for dealing with both the present realities as well as the future ideals of Iranian society. Furthermore, it should be noted that societal changes are usually interdependent and cannot be described as if they were mutually exclusive.

Societal Changes

Perhaps the most realistic description of the political, economic, and social conditions of a country like Iran which tries to achieve rapid development and future prosperity lies in the two concepts of change and transition. This may seem strange to many who perceive Iranian society as static and slow to change; yet since the Second World War, there has been constant progress toward social and economic development, internal political stability, and external diplomatic expansion.

From the early 1950's it was realized that economic development should receive first priority in Iran and therefore H.I.M. Shahanshah Aryamehr states that:

> The important thing in this part of the world is to strengthen the economy and living standards. There is no use writing treaties until economic conditions are bettered. It is a question of world peace. The economic level of this country must be raised to achieve a decent standard of civilization and avoid threat of internal instability (Moaraifi, 1950, p. 1).

This aspiration for social and economic progress manifested itself in the introduction of the First and Second Development Plans in 1948 and 1955, each for a period of seven years. The total appropriation for the First Plan was 280 million dollars of which only 53 million dollars was actually spent. The Second Plan envisaged a total expenditure of 1120 million dollars; more than 90 percent of that amount was actually spent (Plan Organization, 1964). Although both plans were not completely successful in realizing their goals and achieving their targets, they shook the traditional and static nature of Iranian economy and established an infrastructure for future social and economic development.

Even though the first plans for social change were formulated in the first part of the century, it is generally agreed that the early 1960's marked the successful implementation of systematic long-term plans for societal change in Iran. In 1962 a six-point reform was introduced and gradually six more points were added to the program which came to be known as the White Revolution. The main intention was to bring the social conditions up to the level which could support and complement the plans for economic development and political stability of Iran. The twelve points of the revolution included (Pahlavi, 1967):

- land reform
- nationalization of forests
- nationalization of water resources
- creation of literacy corps
- creation of health corps
- creation of development corps
- the sale of government owned industries to private sector
- sharing of factory profits by industrial workers
- electoral reform
- enfranchisement of women
- formation of 'equity courts'
- administrative and educational reforms

It should be noted that due to the varied rate of change, these reforms were in different stages of development at any particular time. For example, while land reform is close to being realized, the administrative and educational reforms are in their infancy. Nevertheless, the magnitude and direct contribution of the White Revolution is observable in every aspect of Iranian society today.

Along with these reforms, the Third Development Plan was launched in 1962 for a period of five years. Most writers consider this plan as the first integrated and sophisticated plan with clear objectives and the necessary emphasis on coordination between public and private sectors. Furthermore, for the first time social development received more attention than it did in the first two plans, and 21 percent of the total expenditure was allocated to social projects.

The total appropriation for the plan was more than 3000 million dollars with the objective of an annual six percent growth rate (Baldwin, 1967). Actually, the plan passed its original goal and achieved an average annual rate of growth of eight percent.

The Fourth Development Plan was presented in 1968 and covered a five year period. The share of the various development projects was almost 6500 million dollars with a target of an annual growth of nine percent (Plan Organization, 1968). Development of heavy industries, extension of welfare services such as education, health, rural and urban development, and educational reform were among the major goals of the plan. The plan met most of its targets and the Iranian economy showed an average of 9.5 percent annual growth. Charles Issawi (1971), in assessing the economy of Iran, concludes that:

> In the last ten years, Iran has achieved a rate of growth matched by very few countries. It has done this while maintaining a degree of price stability equaled by only a few countries, and those with very low growth rates. And it has done it with very little foreign assistance. At the same time, Iran has experienced considerable development and has taken some steps--by no means sufficient--toward greater social justice (p. 60).

At present economic and social change is carried out under the Fifth Development Plan which was initiated in 1973 for a period of five years. The aspiration and magnitude of this plan is far broader than previous plans, and it is aimed at 12 to 14 percent rate of annual growth. While there is no reason not to believe in the continuity of progress, it appears that future change will depend to a greater extent than in the past on the implementation of administrative and educational reforms.

In a speech delivered at the Harvard commencement in June 1968, H.I.M. Shahanshah Aryamehr pointed out that:

> So long as our ancestors considered it natural upon the appearance of cholera or the plague to resign themselves to fate and to await death, they inevitably had no sense of rebellion against this terrible evil. Thank God that we now have the urge to rebellion. . . . If this is true of physical disease, it can be equally true of social disease as well (Zonis, 1971a, p. 249).

The systematic challenge to long-standing social problems started in the early 1960's. Among many social projects, educational expansion was perhaps the most outstanding sign of social progress, indicating the perception of government that illiteracy was the main cause of most social illness in Iranian society.

At the end of the 1950's it was estimated that as high as 80 percent of Iran's largely rural population was illiterate. To overcome this social problem a literacy corps was created in the early 1960's with the intention of increasing the literacy rate among the 10-45 year age group up to 50 percent by 1972. Harvey Smith and others (1971) indicate that "Between 1962 and 1966 some 30,000 corps members worked in various rural areas imparting literacy to more than 900,000 children and adults (p. 168)." It has been reported that in 1969, 22,000 villages were covered under the literacy campaign and 44,000 recruits had served or were serving in the literacy corps (Zonis, 1971b). The increasing rate of literacy is so promising, it is estimated that by 1985 even the smallest village in Iran will have its own school offering a six-year program (Bella, 1965). Indications are that the literacy corps was immensely successful in increasing the rate of literacy.

In addition to carrying out a teaching function, the literacy corps members are highly involved in the social and economic life of the villages. This involvement caused Blandy and Nashat (1966) to point out that:

> In conclusion, it seems that, if the present success continues, the educational corps may play an important part in dealing with the country's urgent problems and may provide useful experience for the establishment of the permanent institutions needed for the development of rural areas (p. 529).

In fact, there are indications that most literacy corps members have welcomed the opportunity to stay on in their stationed villages and have shown ample interest in pursuing teaching careers. Perhaps it was the outstanding achievements of the literacy corps' operation that encouraged the creation of the Health Corps, the Equity Courts for legal assistance, and the Development and Agricultural Extension Corps in rural areas between 1963 to 1968. The combination of these socio-economic reforms are gradually transforming the traditional Iranian society into a modern and progressive nation.

The political climate and political organization of Iran are changing along with the socio-economic development; the paternalistic and authoritarian relationships between government and people (Sorokin, 1947) are gradually changing in the direction toward organized party politics and formal channels for political participation. The internal political stability which Iran has enjoyed since the early 1960's is accompanied by an expansion of diplomatic relationships with other countries and the implementation of an independent foreign policy. Generally, however, it should be recognized that as Miller (1969) pointed out political change " . . . in Iran is in a state of transition and does not yet reflect the social and economic changes that have taken place within the country since World War II . . . (p. 159)." It seems that as the rate of literacy increases and the social and economic conditions of the country improve, that the pace of political change is also accelerating; perhaps this is a sign of growing mutual trust and cooperation between government and people.

The changes and conditions under which members of Iranian society are living and will live have been observed by Bill (1973), who concludes:

> Contemporary Iran, however, is entering a painful period of change as the traditional patterns are beginning to snap. Although these patterns still dominate, the last few decades have brought fundamentally new challenges. Increased contact and communication with the West, the emergence of new groups and classes, and the interrelated processes of industrialization, urbanization and technological advancement have introduced ideas and initiated programs that undercut past sociopolitical patterns. The new generation not only encompasses individuals who seek to preserve traditional power patterns but also it includes those who consciously and unconsciously strive to uproot such patterns. More and more Iranians are appearing who possess great professional skill but few connections. Rapid economic growth and gigantic new industries demand competence, and they must promote advancement by merit to ensure their own survival (p. 151).

These comments seem to be typical of those of contemporary foreign observers.

Communication media. The function of the communication media in forming or influencing the values and attitudes of the public is rapidly increasing. Since the Second World War, despite the lowering of the rate of illiteracy, the primacy of the press has declined in favor of a diversification of communication channels. The role of radio as a means for introducing societal change can be observed from the annual import rate in the 1960's. From 1953 to 1960 the annual import of receiver sets rose from 26,669 to 238,941 and it is estimated that in 1965 the number of receivers in Iran was about two million, with an audience of ten million or almost half of the population at that time (Iran Almanac, 1967).

With the emergence of television, the popularity of radio has declined and its audience, especially in urban areas, has turned to television. At present almost 60 percent of the population is covered under the central and various provincial networks, and plans have been made to increase the coverage until the whole population will have access to its broadcasting. The use of television in the campaign against illiteracy and for the social upgrading of the population is gaining increased popularity. Furthermore, the use of closed circuit television is projected for the Bu Ali Sina University which will open its doors to the first freshmen in 1976 (Imperial Government of Iran, 1973).

Printed media is also playing a significant role in the social awakening of Iranian society. The expansion of book publishing agencies and the increased circulation figures of newspapers and magazines are indications of a change in reading habits of the population. There is also a tendency toward the use of more statistics, factual information and greater accuracy in reporting. As the rate of literacy increases and the economic and social development continues, the significance of the role of printed media becomes increasingly evident.

The communication media is perhaps the most significant means of introducing Western values into Iranian society. They are also highly successful in communicating the economic and social development and political stability of Iran to the public. Their impact intensifies the increasing rate of political awareness of potential voters of the society and eases some of the hidden mistrust between government and people. Consequently, more open communication and less secrecy will prevail and through this source of feedback deficiencies will be remedied.

Industrialization. Iran has undergone tremendous industrial growth in recent years and is now producing most of the basic consumer goods in her light industries. Since the government sold almost all light industries to the private sector in order to finance land reform in the early 1960's, the public sector is now restricted to the steel, aluminium, oil and petrochemical industries which require far greater investment than the private sector can provide without public support. According to an Irano-Soviet economic agreement, the construction of the first heavy steel mill was started in 1965. Production from this steel mill began in 1971 with the initial annual capacity of 600,000 tons. Within the past few years its capacity was doubled, and it is projected that in the next few years it will increase to its maximum annual capacity of four million tons.

Rapid industrialization demands an available supply of educated manpower and skilled human labor. It is estimated that to carry out the various projects of the Fifth Development Plan, Iran is in need of seven hundred thousand engineers, technicians and skilled laborers who should have professional training. This need is already so pressing that the government has assigned various committees to recruit and import the needed manpower to Iran in cases where the internal supply is insufficient.

Industrialization and modernization dictate specialization, objectivity, and an orientation toward huge organizations. In Iran small entrepreneuial organizations are rapidly being replaced by large and complex institutions. Tacit individualism and subjective attitudes will have little chance if these organizations are to survive. These traditional states of mind are changing, particularly since the sharing of 20 percent of net profits with employees has provided a sense of purpose for the labor force in Iran. They work harder and they show more trust in management, especially since ownership and management have gradually been separated. Organizationally, competence in one's field is becoming more the criterion for recruitment and promotion than the old notion of family ties, friendship and discrimination.

Although the use of modern technology and automation in Iran is a trend evident o[illegible] in recent years, there is high probability that economic effici[illegible] will demand the more frequent use of these techniques in the fu[illegible] As a result, the creation of increased leisure time for so many Iranians will begin to surface. In fact, most of the government and business organizations have already abandoned the one and one-half day weekend practice in favor of Western style two-day weekends.

Urbanization. After the Second World War more than three-quarters of the Iranian population was settled in thousands of small villages. By the mid-fifties the total population of Iran was 19 million, of which more than 30 percent lived in urban areas. Since the 1960's the rapid economic growth has caused more changes in the pattern of population distribution in Iran. It is projected that out of the total population of 32 million in 1973, 43 percent will reside in urban centres, and this trend will also continue (Plan Organization, 1968). The heavy rate of migration from rural to urban centres appears to have already surpassed the projected figure.

The natural growth of the population and internal migration are the sources of increases in urban population. Major cities are the targets for internal migration to such an extent that almost half of the urban population is living in six major cities: Tehran (the capital), Isfahan, Tabriz, Shiraz, Mashhad, and Ahvas. The other half are scattered in more than 100 smaller cities and towns. For example, before 1945, Tehran had a population of less than 500,000. Today, the population of the capital is well over three million, and it is estimated that in 1985 the population will reach the level of 5.5 million.

The rapid increase in the urban population, and particularly the fact that this population is concentrated in a few major cities, has created many economic and social problems. These problems range from traffic congestion to changes in the value patterns of the population and pollution. Through government initiated plans major attempts have been made to solve these problems. The new Ministry of Housing and Development was formed in 1966 to face the problem of housing shortages. Municipalities were formed and family planning was introduced. Yet, despite these efforts the challenge still exists and there is every indication to believe that there will be a continuation of the trend toward increased urbanization and its inevitable problems.

Administrative reform. For the efficient implementation of social, political and economic reforms a reorganization of the administrative system of Iran was started in the 1960's. To challenge the nepotism and corruption which have abounded in the entire apparatus of the administrative system, government has moved recently toward decentralization. For the first time the natives of each province or city were granted the right to elect their local councils and thus to participate in local decision-making processes. Another example of decentralization of authority can be observed in education at all levels. Since 1970 the financial and administrative affairs of the Ministry of Education, which is in charge of elementary and secondary education, was decentralized to 174 "Regional Education Councils" (Imperial Government of Iran, 1973). In higher education the formation of the board of trustees for academic institutions was also a sign of decentralization.

These moves toward decentralization from central government in the capital to regional and local levels seems to indicate a change in the relative distribution of power. Consequently, the degree of cooperation between government and individual citizens is increasing. It should be noted, however, that this tendency toward decentralization is now limited to some selected areas and as a result the expected cooperation is limited as well. Yet it seems that government is moving in this direction, and it reflects a perception that the public at large is ready to assume more responsibility and to engage in more active participation.

Furthermore, the moves toward decentralization and increased participation can be seen as signs of the weakening of the extended family and the rise of new leaders in the whole fabric of the Iranian administrative system. Today it is evident that many elements for establishing effective organizations are gradually surfacing and that Iranian societal organizations are rapidly moving toward what is commonly known as the Weberian bureaucratic model and away from what may be called the traditional Iranian bureaucracy.

Family life. One of the side effects of rapid urbanization with its Western style manifestations are the apparent changes in the family life in Iranian society. Traditionally, the family has been the most important and stable unit in society; today the stability of urban families is problematic. The size and functions of families seems to be reduced, and the growing active participation of women in society reduces their impact on the lives of their families. The rate of divorce has increased particularly in urban centres to such an extent that government has been urged to develop preventive measures.

Increased literacy has also made women more oriented toward activities outside the home. They are actively engaged in seeking outside employment in every field and in all levels of society which, in turn, has altered the traditional family organization and its value system. It seems that there is a tendency toward smaller families and toward a breakdown of extended family relationships. In fact, families are so preoccupied with the problems of modern life that maintaining traditional family relations seems to be practically impossible.

Economic security through increased employment opportunities reduces the dependence of family members on each other to a point where fathers cannot be viewed as the main authority in the family. The traditional authoritarian relationships between family members are gradually decreasing and each individual is enjoying greater personal freedom. However, since the new roles are not firmly established yet, family tensions are generally increasing and unfortunately there is very little help or guidance available.

Changing values. Iranians have usually been characterized as having an orientation toward their glorious history instead of a future perspective. This attitude appears to be rapidly changing as the future looks more and more promising. Generally, this is largely due to the socio-economic progress and political stability (Bill, 1972) which has already been mentioned. To the extent that any people can feel secure under the present economic conditions of the world, Iranians are not an exception in the total society.

Optimism is replacing pessimism and the growing desire to challenge the problems is replacing acceptance of fate and the passive attitude toward existing conditions. The long lived traditional structure of the society is changing and the two class society of landlords and peasants is rapidly disappearing (Lambton, 1969). Today there is an upward movement of a growing middle-class composed of bankers, industrialists, teachers, and intellectuals. Economically, the per capita income is now more than 400 dollars and it is projected that it will rise to 1000 dollars by the end of the 1980's.

The present realities and future prosperities combined with the increasing rate of literacy have contributed toward an attitude of rebellion against traditional perception of authority. Youth is questioning the authority of their parents, and labor now is sharing the authority of management. The traditional perception of power which was based on land now is being replaced by education. The introduction of the recent law for free education up to grade 12 and compulsory education up to grade eight is an indication of a belief that education is the right of every individual rather than the privilege of an elite group. Freed from their traditional conservative orientation toward authority and the confusion of their own new roles, it seems people in general and youth in particular are displaying a more aggressive attitude toward authoritarian relationships.

The famous Iranian individualism is also changing as witnessed by the formation of growing numbers of voluntary organizations which are mostly involved in various social development projects (Polk, 1967). The achievements of these voluntary organizations and the success of the education corps as well as other social corps not only indicate that Iranians are learning the art of cooperation but also that they are performing their duties effectively. Perhaps most important is their positive attitude toward accepting meaningful responsibility.

Implications of Contemporary Societal Changes for Iranian Universities

It is generally agreed that universities are not in isolation from the society at large and that changes in the society ultimately are reflected to varying degrees in the operation of these academic institutions. While some of these changes may have indirect effects, others directly influence the universities; Iranian universities are no exception. Changes elsewhere provide examples which make tentative predictions about the probable impact of the Iranian societal changes on universities possible. The changing characteristics of North American universities which reflect their environmental transformations is, indeed, one of these examples. Therefore, some of these predictions should be viewed as the probable future states toward which Iranian universities are moving.

In Iran rapid industrialization and growing urbanization will have a tremendous effect on the functions of the university. The demands of industrialization will force the university to emphasize its research function and to reconsider its teaching methods and curriculum design. There will be pressures to expand the limited scope of course offerings to include more diversified subject matter in order to supply the increasing specialization in many aspects of life which economic development demands. This will be partly due to the growth of the private sector and the job opportunities it offers which will ultimately reduce the status and prestige of getting a white collar job in government bureaucracy to the point where more healthy job competition will prevail.

The quality of education will likely become as important as the quantity and there may be pressure on universities to try new methods of teaching and the integration of research and instruction. In fact, as early as the 1960's, this shortcoming was observed by H.I.M. Pahlavi (1961) who stated that ". . . some of our professors still regard themselves as little gods whose opinions must not be disputed and whose time must not be wasted on students. . . . The intellectual arrogance of certain of our professors betrays their lack of scientific spirit (p. 258)." Generally, in finding solutions to the practical problems of an expanding economy, useful research will gradually become the first priority of the university. This, in turn, will probably result in the emergence of new specialized units to perform huge contractual research and in the creation of more graduate and professional schools.

The growth of urbanization may cause greater university involvement in urban affairs and consequently will draw these academic institutions closer to their communities. Emphasis on further education and life-time learning will seem to increase and universities will be asked for guiding people in the active use of their leisure time. In fact, in this period of transition when many individual citizens are uncertain about their proper roles, universities will be viewed as a guiding force. Consequently, the walls which traditionally have separated the university from the public and kept it in isolation will be removed in favor of greater involvement in societal affairs.

Among these other probable changes the teaching function of the university as the custodian of traditional Iranian culture will probably be re-examined and more attention will be paid to the vocational training and career preparation of students. Research of the kind which can be used in solving the ever-increasing national social problems will be emphasized to the point where it may occupy its proper place in the Iranian university. Furthermore, universities will be increasingly engaged in offering direct services to the society and at the time it will continue, to a lesser extent, its indirect services.

As the universities grow and add new functions to their lists of priorities, the organizational structure of the university will move toward more bureaucratic regularization. The trustees of

Iranian universities will become increasingly engaged in various societal development plans and therefore they will have less time to devote to the universities. They will be required to spend more time as trustees which they cannot afford, and they will be asked for a better understanding of these academic institutions which is beyond their frame of reference. On the other hand, as the function of the university expands and as the rate of its involvement in societal problems increases, the need for an informed and dedicated board of trustees will be more apparent. The exercise of current patterns of leadership will become a handicap to the meaningful contribution of universities to the societal revolution.

The emergence of the new set of values which is against authoritarian leadership and in favor of more participation and cooperation will demand different types of academic leadership for the university. On the one hand the academic administrators will be faced with more internal pressure for involvement in the governance of the university, while on the other hand the growth of the university and the introduction of rapid changes will demand an active leadership and the necessity for making prompt decisions. In both cases, the political conservatism of Iranian academic administrators will be an obstacle to adequate adjustment in a period of immense change.

Meaningful and yet selective decentralization and persuasive integration of the various sections and different sub-cultures of the university will necessitate a leadership style compatible with the political and social development of the country. The complexity and size of the university will result in the rejection of the idea of governance by a few and will require the establishment of a flexible organizational structure that encourages greater participation and facilitates the smoothing of rapid changes. The increasing rate of interaction between the university and society will force the president to spend more time in external affairs and to be less present on campus. This, in turn, will demand greater delegation of authority and responsibility in order for the university to be able to function effectively. Generally, it seems the need for a dynamic leadership in the Iranian universities will call for individuals who are oriented more to their academic responsibilities rather than their political aspirations.

As the society develops and becomes more complex, high expertise will be demanded of the faculty at accelerating rates. The involvement of faculty in solving the problems of industry, government, business, and the community will likely reduce the present limited faculty loyalty to the university to a minimal level. Furthermore, the increasing emphasis on research will probably minimize faculty interest in teaching, and faculty will become more oriented toward their professional fields.

Along with these tendencies, more and more faculty members will be recruited to the university from different levels of society; the elite nature of faculty will decline and they will gradually represent a more heterogeneous body. The likelihood that most of these faculty members will find the current transformation and development in the society in line with their expectation for a modern Iran is rapidly increasing. They will probably find the socio-political climate of society more open for major change and innovative ideas. Consequently, they will represent a group which demands more involvement in the governance of Iranian universities. As these attitudes become dominant, the authoritarian relationship between faculty and students of the traditional role will be replaced with more understanding and appreciation of the capabilities of both sides.

The tendency toward professional values and the increasing demand for interdisciplinary studies will form the ground for greater interaction and exchange of views among faculty members of all universities. Furthermore, to facilitate the best utilization of faculty research and findings, publication in the form of scientific or professional journals will ultimately be encouraged.

Iranian universities have already experienced the doubling of their enrollment since the 1950's. The expansion of secondary education and the need of society for more educated manpower will force the universities to grow even faster than before and will result in rapid bureaucratization and growing reliance on impersonal relationships. But, perhaps, more important than the pressure of numbers will be the heterogeneous nature of the student body as more and more students with diversified socio-economic backgrounds enter the universities. Their motives for university education as well as their attitudes toward the university are rapidly changing; they can no longer be considered as passive observers of university governance. They are economically more secure and socially more aware, not only of their own environment, but of the conditions of the world. As a result, their demands are shifting from the satisfaction of basic needs to the enrichment of higher needs.

A Move Toward the Ideal University

To say that the role of the university is to reflect the societal changes of its environment is to state only one side of an old argument. The other side, however, implies that a university should assume a leading role in initiating change in society. It seems that the views complement each other and are not mutually exclusive. There is the challenge of introducing revolutionary changes necessary to the governance of the universities, if they are to meet today's and tomorrow's needs of the society effectively. Furthermore, it is equally a matter of necessity for the universities to assume major responsibility in interpreting the societal transformation to the people. From this point of view Iranian universities should change and be the interpreter of change both at the same time.

The complexity of life and the new demands of modern times call for breaking with those traditions which no longer are of sufficient value and to establish new goals and governance structures for the Iranian university system. Internal as well as external pressures are mounting and it is time for the university to reconsider the tremendous challenges which the society has offered her in the last ten years.

The university can be the most significant and influential force because it is able to prepare needed manpower, which is the most important national resource, to serve the various specialized functions of the modern Iran. Although an all-purpose university for the sake of every individual interest may be an ideal, the supremacy of national goals over the interest of individual citizens in Iran necessitates a clear definition of the goals of the university. The contribution of the university will be far greater if it defines explicitly its socially utilitarian goals. To respond to the increasing social demand for utility, the university should be involved in major public services and should emphasize its research activities.

The university must be kept as free as possible from political influences and its operation as well as its development should be made as independent as possible from the shifts in political climate and government leadership. To ensure the continuity of its academic functions, the university should not be used as the tool for political interests of an individual or a group.

To become a dynamic centre for professional and intellectual leadership in Iran, universities must demonstrate within themselves the cohesion and the art of cooperative action. The growth of the university in this direction is essential if it is to assume a major role in the societal revolution and to serve as a model for other social organizations. This implies a reduction in the external political pressures and the granting of more autonomy to the university in order to be able to develop such internal structure which best facilitates its goal achievement.

The vigor of the essential character of the Iranian university must be the main goal of its leaders. To foster the spirit of the academic organization, its leaders should display themselves as an example. They should rise from among the able scholars, scientists, and professionals with a devotion to the ideal of the university in order to demonstrate a sincere concern for the goals of the academic community. They should abandon external rewards in favor of internal compensation. They should seek their satisfaction in the success and development of the faculty and students, and the qualitative as well as quantitative growth of the university. The leadership style of the academic administrators must be based upon complete fairness and impartiality in order to encourage trust and to support cooperation and involvement.

The importance of the internal organization of the university and the impact of its outcomes upon the society of Iran to a large extent depends on the nature and activities of its faculty members. The success of the university depends on the strength of a loyal, enthusiastic, and involved faculty who cherish learning and service to society. If a faculty member does not identify himself with the university, external rewards will be a powerful stimulating source of personal satisfaction. Unless he observes the emergence of the spirit of an academic community, he will not develop enthusiasm for professional orientation and devotion to the ideals of the university.

And perhaps, most important of all, unless he sees an open climate for communication, cooperation and participation he will be more withdrawn and passive. The climate and structure of the Iranian university should reflect these desirable characteristics.

It is assumed that the purpose of the university is to do all in its power to create conditions on the campus that will promote optimum learning and development on the part of the students. These conditions must stimulate an independent attitude, encourage cooperation, and facilitate the acceptance of responsibility. Students should be encouraged to believe that authority is not the only criterion for involvement and participation in the operation of the university. If society has placed crucial responsibilities in the hands of high school graduates, the university has far more reason to believe in the ability of future builders of the nation. A feeling of participation on the part of the students in the governance of the Iranian university that affect them is of great importance in overcoming negative attitudes and developing constructive ones.

SUMMARY

Iran is on the threshhold of great and significant developments. There is a dynamic quality that seems to unveil the potential of the nation and people who are ready and eager for constructive change. Major economic, social, and political changes in Iran are reflected in and stimulated by such specific changes as communication media, industrialization, urbanization, administrative reform, family life, and changing values in the overall development of the nation.

Since the university cannot operate in isolation from the society, there is great potential for radical changes on campus. An analysis of the implications of societal changes on Iranian universities indicated that there will be greater involvement of the university in society and the emergence of new ideas will manifest itself in the structure of the university.

The university can also assume a leading role in society and critically interpret the environmental changes to the public and at the same time facilitate the introduction of change in its organization. The possible responses of Iranian universities should be based on such radical and desirable changes as explicitly adopting utilitarian goals, reducing campus politicization and placing increased emphasis on cooperative leadership with greater faculty and student involvement.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the report in terms of the purpose of the study; traditional goals and governance structures as well as current practices in North American and Iranian universities; future proposals for universities in North America; and the current societal changes in Iran. Following the conclusion section which explores the possibility of applying North American practices to Iranian universities, some specific recommendations for Iranian universities are proposed.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study, which was based primarily on a review of the literature on university goals and governance in North America, was designed to present a comparative analysis of governance systems in North America and Iran. It was intended to explore the possibility of proposing an expansion of goals and improvements in the structure of Iranian universities through the identification and examination of North American university practices which appear to be compatible with the Iranian social context.

To achieve these aims, library research was chosen as the most appropriate method for the study. The large and expanding body of literature that deals, directly or indirectly, with goals, administration, and governance of universities was reviewed and through critical analysis a general synthesis was derived. The research strategy for this report consisted of a combination of historical and sociological approaches to comparative educational study in conjunction with selective problem identification. This design provided a broader perspective for the comparison of both contexts and a better understanding of the past and present practices in North American and Iranian universities.

Perhaps it is unrealistic to expect that the readers of this study will form a broader group than the audiences of most doctoral dissertations; that is, those who are interested in its original contribution to the existing knowledge on university governance, in particular the areas of administration and organizational structure of universities. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the introduction of this report through appropriate channels in Iran will stimulate some actions on the part of the government and will subsequently expand and modify the goals and roles of universities. Although boards of trustees and presidents of Iranian universities can be included among the potential readers of this report, faculty and students may also represent two major groups who might display an interest in this comparative study.

For members of the North American audience, this report may result in a deeper understanding of Iranian universities and their societal context. Furthermore, the synthesis of the accumulated literature on goals and governance of North American universities which is presented in this study, can be regarded as a useful source of information for students of educational administration.

SUMMARY

Traditional Patterns

Like the idea of early colleges in North America, the concept of the first modern Iranian college was an imported product from Western Europe. The main difference, however, is that the early colleges in North America were founded on the British model of Oxford and Cambridge while the Iranian colleges was to a large extent influenced by the institutes of higher learning in France. Furthermore, while the origin of North American colleges dates back to over three hundred years ago, the first European style college in Iran was established only in 1851. Yet, the foundation of Iranian institutes of higher learning can be traced back to the sixth century.

The rapid expansion of early North American colleges was mainly due to the competition between various religious denominations and the increasing demands of the church for trained ministers on new frontiers. The primary function of these colleges was teaching and the socialization of students according to the religious standards. After the acceptance of the principle of separation of church and state, colleges and universities assumed more diversified roles and functions. The unified, religious-oriented goal of colleges was gradually replaced by challenging new ideas. The usefulness of colleges and universities to the state became the issue, and a utilitarian approach gained much support. As a result, after the Civil War, colleges and universities moved rapidly in the direction of utilitarian reform which was based on the assumption that the prime functions of these academic institutions should be in accord with the needs of the society rather than knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Because of the utilitarian reform, two major concepts of democracy and vocational training emerged. Pure research and scholarship were attacked in favor of useful research. In the early twentieth century, the idea of utility was revised and through unification of scientific and practical goals, efficiency became one of the major concerns of North American universities.

The critics of utilitarian education, of scientific research, and of narrow specialization ultimately succeeded in introducing the notion of liberal culture. As a result, the socialization function of the university was emphasized and universities accepted the role of custodian of culture. This trend, however, did not last too long and its status dropped, particularly after universities abandoned their in loco parentis function. After the Second World War, North American universities became highly involved in direct services to the society, particularly due to federal government financial support.

In the course of their development, North American universities attached different degrees of emphasis to these goals but they never abandoned one completely in favor of the other. From the turn of this century, no new function was introduced and the merging of of goals became popular. The unification and reconciliation of culture, utility, teaching, and research was the inevitable consequence of a long period of debate over academic goals.

In Iran, however, the religious philosophy of education remained unchanged until recently. In the absence of consistent development of a system of higher learning due to the frequent invasions and as a result of the interests of the state, universities were concerned only with the transmission of the nation's cultural heritage. The simplicity of this goal, which has persisted all through history, was a reflection of the society which until recently remained predominately agrarian.

The historical development of the governance of North American colleges and universities shows a pattern of fluctuation in the roles of its major internal participants. Boards of trustees, presidents, and faculty have each dominated the governance of colleges and universities at different times. Boards of trustees enjoyed their dominance for more than two centures after the early establishment of Harvard in 1636. After the Civil War, the power of presidents increased to the point where many were described as empire builders. By the time of the First World War, the issue of academic freedom reduced the power of university presidents in favor of faculty, yet, once again after the Second World War, presidents became the prime source of authority. During this long period, students were not quite idle and, in fact, their constant struggle for involvement in the university gradually led to their control of student government and extra-curricular activities on the campus. The final stage of these developments was manifested in the circumstances of the 1960's when the interests of all four major groups clashed.

Despite these fluctuations in the traditional roles of the board of trustees, presidents, faculty, and students, in the course of the history until the 1960's, it seems that there has been a division of labor in the governance patterns of North American colleges and universities; that is, the boards of trustees and presidents were concerned with the administration, faculty members assumed the responsibility for the academic area, and students were interested in controlling their own government. In Iran, however, students were regarded as learners and faculty as teachers, and both groups were being denied involvement in the governance of Iranian universities. Furthermore, the concept of the board of trustees is a recent innovation in the academic institutions of Iran. The passive regard for faculty and students and, in the absence of the board of trustees, the main force in the governance of universities was restricted to the individual president.

Current Practices and Future Trends

Today, universities experience great and diversified pressures for change. The external pressure for order, efficiency, and accountability is reinforced by the internal conflicts over goals and governance. The impacts of these conflicting demands on the university in combination with the magnitude of changes in the environment, provide a future of which uncertainty is the dominant characteristic.

North American universities, generally assume a number of diversified roles which reflect the perception of the university as a research establishment; a microcosm of culture; training centre for government, business and industry; chief critic of the environment; and direct service station for the society at large. It is generally agreed that North American universities assume all of these roles at the same time and yet, the degree of emphasis which is attached to these roles is varied among different universities. Based on these diversified roles, North American universities are mostly characterized as all-purpose institutions.

In spite of the present ambiguity of purpose in North American universities, they are basically engaged in performing four major functions: the acquisition of knowledge, the transmission of knowledge, the application of knowledge, and providing an internal democratic community. In contrast, the concept of the university in Iran is largely viewed as the transmitter of the cultural heritage of the nation. Based on this assumption, the university is perceived as an institution apart from and above the society, and therefore, emphasis is placed on the teaching function and individual scholarly work.

The future trends in terms of the goals of North American universities, as reflected in the literature, indicate that the teaching function and the internal services of the university will decrease. On the other hand, research and external services of North American universities will be emphasized due to the increased complexity and rapid technological demands of the society.

Current practices in the operation of North American universities are characterized by participatory governance structures. The campus is still removed from partisan politics and maintains its independence and autonomy; however, this may change in the future due to increased external pressures.

The boards of trustees and university presidents are less influential due to increased governmental controls and the increase of student and faculty power; trends suggest a continuation of the present conditions. These trends indicate that the boards of trustees and presidents will lose some of the traditional powers and will be selected with more care; that the faculty will move more rapidly toward unionization and collective bargaining; and that students will become more involved in the administrative and academic areas of decision-making. In contrast, the governance structure of Iranian universities is based on an authoritarian model and campuses are highly politicized. The boards of trustees and university presidents are enjoying a tremendous amount of authority and faculty and students are representing the passive observants of the operation of these academic institutions.

Future Proposals

There is very limited consensus in the literature concerning the desirable goals for North American universities. There are supporters and critics for every single goal, based on the differing assumption of what the proper role of the university should be. Since most of the arguments seem reasonable, it is hardly realistic to look for a consensus, yet agreement can be found in some areas. Most writers believe that the teaching function of the North American universities is neglected in favor of more emphasis on research and service. The recommendation is to upgrade the status of teaching through modification in faculty tenure and promotion practices. There is agreement that there is a wide gap between research and teaching functions of the university and that this gap should be filled through the integration of both goals. Furthermore, there is agreement that the present ambiguity of purpose which dominates North American campuses should be clarified and that universities should develop areas of specialty and excellence rather than extending their services to everything, everyone and everywhere.

In contrast to the situation with respect to goals, there is a general consensus in the area of governance for North American universities. Generally, the proposals are in favor of participatory structure based on democratic principles. A synthesis of these proposals for the four major internal constituencies indicates that the board of trustees should assume a more active role in the affairs of the universities; that the composition of the board should reflect different age, sex, and minority groups; that faculty and students should be involved in selecting the board members; that the meetings of the board should be more open; and that boards should assume greater authority in, and yet not intrude into, the management of the universities.

The academic administrators were also the objects of numerous recommendations and proposals. These proposals include decentralization of authority, separation of function, delegation of authority, and a move toward consensus and shared interests. Due to the present ambiguity which surrounds the roles of presidents, academic deans, and department chairmen, with a few exceptions, most of the proposals are directed toward administration as a whole. Generally, these proposals seem to favor the role of the academic administrators in the direction of more democratic approach and sharing of their power in the governance of North American universities.

There is agreement that the role of the faculty in university governance should be encouraged through greater involvement in the committee structure and representation on faculty senates. Another set of proposals encourage the full participation of all constituencies, including faculty, through greater openness of decision-making structures. Despite the variation of these proposals, generally, there is striking consensus that faculty members should be actively involved in the governance of North American universities.

In addition to involving faculty, there is a general belief in the desirability of also involving students in the governance of North American universities. Therefore, it is agreed that students should have the right to be heard in every issue which they are interested. Except in the case of Canada, proposals do not usually recommend the inclusion of students in the board of trustees. What they do recommend is membership in the areas of direct student interests. It is also generally agreed that student government, social life, and extra-curricular activites should be directed by students themselves. The general picture of proposals in the United States is in favor of student involvement on a consultative basis in most areas of university governance and on a voting basis in very specific areas only. In contrast many Canadian universities tend to involve students on a committee membership and voting basis to a greater extent.

Current Features of Iranian Society

For a predominately agrarian country like Iran which is moving rapidly in the direction of complexity and industrialization, change is a constant factor. Evidence of this transition and the strong desire for change can be seen in every social, political, economic, and cultural aspect of Iranian life. Major societal changes in Iran are reflected in such specific changes as communication media, industrialization, urbanization, administrative reform, family life, and changing values in the overall development of the nation.

These dominant societal features of Iran are highly relevant for their possible implications for universities. It is increasingly unlikely that universities can operate in isolation from the radical changes in society. The implications of these changes for Iranian universities include greater involvement of the campus in society and the emergence of new ideas which will manifest themselves in the structure of the university.

The university can also assume a leading role in society through critical analysis and interpretation of changes in its environment and hence facilitate the introduction of change in its organization. Based on these assumptions, the possible responses of Iranian universities might include such radical, yet desirable, changes as explicating utilitarian goals, reducing campus politicization and emphasizing cooperative leadership, and increasing faculty and student involvement.

CONCLUSIONS

A number of conclusions emerge from this study. The first is that there are practices in North America which deserve attention and merit examination for the possible adaptation in Iran. Today, because of astonishing developments in science and technology, the rate, complexity, and variety of changes which the world is experiencing are without precedent. Every and all forms around us are altered, to the point where nothing seems to be established and certain and everything tends to be new and experimental. In this era of uncertainty and change, as well as of progress and affluence, societies become increasingly similar to each other. In fact, the increasing complexity of our world, the rapidly expanding technology, the clash of conflicting value systems, and the accelerating expansion of knowledge are only a few indications of interdependence among nations.

Developing countries are rapidly following the same route to progress which advanced societies have experienced. In doing so, however, they cannot afford to depend upon the slow and costly method of trial and error which, perhaps, decreases the rate of their development and increases the burden on their limited resources. Therefore, it is not unrealistic to assume that in this modern, interdependent world nations can learn ways of adjustments to environments from each other. That is, this writer strongly believes that there are practices in advanced societies of North America which can be applied beneficially to a developing country like Iran in its desire for progress, development, and reconstruction.

In addition to the similarities in societal characteristics of both cultures, which is mainly due to the rapid changes in the societal conditions of Iran in the past two decades, Iranian and North American universities display apparent similarities in their organization. In both cultures the control of the university is entrusted to a lay board of trustees; the administration of the university is delegated to the president who serves as the chief executive officer of the board; and the faculty and students are distributed in the departmentalized organization based on subject matter. These similarities, no matter how they operate, encourage the exploration of the past and present practices in North American universities and facilitate the adaptation of these practices in Iranian universities.

A second conclusion is that in spite of the need and feasibility of applying North American practices to Iranian social context, learning ways of adjustment to environments from North American societies does not mean that their philosophy can also be imported or transplanted to Iran without any change. The growth and development of any philosophy to a large extent depends on the climate and atmosphere of its environment. If changes will result in Iranian society because of the introduction of North American practices, they should come gradually in order to develop in their new environment and to stay permanently. Perhaps, the preparation for change is more important than the actual change.

A number of specific illustrations may serve to clarify this point. One of the attributes of North American societies is their participatory governance structure which is based on the traditionally accepted ideals of democracy. The existence of democratic ideals in the larger society facilitated the recent introduction of participatory governance structures in North American universities, to the point where today it is one of the explicit goals of these academic institutions. But the task of introducing participatory governance structures in Iranian society will face many difficulties including the low rate of literacy, centralized political structure, and 2500 years of customs, beliefs, and traditions which impede the meaningful understanding of democracy.

The orientation of Iranians to democracy is limited to the political aspect of their lives, whereas democracy requires responsible and educated citizens who respect the freedom of others and resolve the controversies and conflicts through mutual interaction. To demand freedom with no sense of responsibility is to invite chaos and anarchy. Since we believe democracy cannot be imposed, it must be learned gradually in order to gain acceptance. The gradual introduction of different facets of democracy provides a learning climate which ultimately leads the society in the direction of ideal democratic values. Based on these general observations this writer concludes that, at present, the creation of a democratic community cannot be applied to the Iranian universities on the grounds that the supporting ingredients of this goal are not yet present.

This is not by any means an indication that universities should not move in this ideal direction. On the contrary, if democracy should be introduced in Iranian society, perhaps the university is the ideal place to test it and subsequently to evaluate its outcomes. What it does imply, however, is that the introduction of any change in the organizational structure of Iranian universities should be based on the needs of the present society and to the extent that can be tolerated by government. The new structure should manifest itself in a form which encourages nationalism, independence, cooperation, curiosity, competence, in short what the society demands and what the future dictates.

A third conclusion is that, generally, universities in Iran do not assume an active role which would encourage the possibility of introducing change in their goals and governance. Perhaps universities are neither prepared nor equipped to assume a leadership role in the rapidly changing society of Iran. The political orientation of the boards of trustees and the political socialization of the presidents are the two major obstacles for understanding the nature of the academic community and contribute to a large extent to the increased politicization of Iranian campuses. These factors when combined with the passive attitudes of the faculty and students make it difficult for universities to maintain their academic independence and to assume a leadership role.

Yet, the university is one of the major means for reorganization and reconstruction of Iranian society. Iran has devoted considerable energy and resources to the expansion and improvement of universities. Universities are expected to provide leadership in administration, professions, industry, and commerce, and to meet the increasing demands for various types of higher education. As the country advances through urbanization and modernization, the university will be asked to supply a critical interpretation of the stresses and tensions of the transition from tradition to modernity. But perhaps even more important, universities are charged with the responsibility of training students for the leadership of a revolutionary society. The magnitude of these demands and expectations and the inability of universities to respond are perhaps the signs of an urgent need for the reorganization of the goals and governance of Iranian universities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations which emerge from this study focus on a mechanism for reviewing university goals and governance, on the goals themselves and on the governance structure.

Commission on Higher Education

1.1 On the initiation of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, a commission should be formed to carry out a research-based review of the university system in Iran, with the intention of providing a critical analysis of the goals and governance of these institutions.

1.2 The composition of this commission should reflect an academic orientation and therefore, its members should be represented by each individual university to encourage the active involvement of these institutions.

1.3 The Ministry of Science and Higher Education should finance this project and assume an active role in channeling the views of the government to the commission.

1.4 The commission's final report should be a public document and be accessible to major constituencies of the universities.

1.5 No centralized attempts should be made to impose the commission's recommendations on universities; instead, to encourage diversification and autonomy, each university should be free in the interpretation as well as the implementation of the report's recommendations.

1.6 To assess the outcome of the report's recommendations on each university, the commission should become a permanent body for periodic review of goals and governance of the universities.

Goals

2.1 The national character of the university in Iran should be emphasized; however, the preservation of independence and academic autonomy should become a major goal for each individual university.

2.2 Iranian universities should pay more attention to their research function in a form which encourages the investigation of national problems.

2.3 The research function of the universities should not be centralized in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. On the contrary, it should be decentralized within each individual university to facilitate the expansion of libraries and laboratories and to provide meaningful integration of research and teaching.

2.4 Universities should re-examine their teaching function and abandon the traditional French model of recitation and examination in favor of more diversified approaches to the processes of teaching and learning.

2.5 The internal services of the universities should be increased to provide enough support for the accomplishment of their broader goals, and the external services should be reinforced to encourage greater involvement in assuming responsibility to meet and solve the technical, vocational, social, and other demands and problems of the society.

General Governance

3.1 In order to achieve the recommended goals, the organizational structure of Iranian universities must be made compatible with their aims which necessitates a radical departure from the present political climate that dominates the campuses.

Board of Trustees

4.1 Through government initiation, the meaning and philosophy of the board of trustees should be re-examined and their power and duties should be explicitly defined in university statutes.

4.2 The composition of the boards of trustees should include individuals with wider range of socio-economic background who reside in various parts of the country and whose backgrounds demonstrate an understanding of the nature of the academic community.

4.3 The boards of trustees should assume more active involvement in the formation of policies and reviewing the governance structure of the universities through constant utilization of faculty expertise in the form of formal and informal consultation.

4.4 The internal organization of the boards of trustees should be revised in favor of permanent standing as well as various ad hoc committees with a clear definition of their terms of reference.

4.5 The frequency of the meeting of the boards of trustees should be increased and the openness of these meetings should be emphasized to encourage the creation of trust and to avoid misunderstandings.

Academic Administrators

5.1 The power and duties of academic administrators should be explicitly defined to reduce misunderstandings and to facilitate meaningful acceptance of responsibility.

5.2 The delegation of authority and responsibility should be increased in order to expand the rate of participation and to decrease unnecessary delay in decision-making.

5.3 The selection of university presidents should be based on the principle of encouraging internal reward for administrative promotions and subject to informal consultation with faculty members.

5.4 The recruitment of the academic deans should be from among the members of the academic staff of the universities and their appointment should be subject to the recommendation of a selection committee composed of representatives from the university administration and the academic staff in each faculty.

5.5 The appointment of department chairmen should be subject to the recommendations of a selection committee composed of representatives of faculty and students in each department.

Faculty

6.1 Appropriate mechanisms for faculty participation should be created through establishment of faculty senates and the expansion of committee structure in all levels of university organizations.

6.2 The power and duties of faculty senates should be clearly defined, and its membership should be composed of the representatives of the academic staff in each faculty and the delegates of university administration.

6.3 To discourage external political aspirations, the internal reward system of the university should be revised through reconsideration of the criteria for faculty tenure and promotion.

6.4 Through the initiation of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the support of the universities, external professional organizations and the publication of scientific and professional journals should be encouraged to increase the professional orientation of the faculty and to facilitate the exchange of professional views.

Students

7.1 Universities should abandon their in loco parentis function and provide adequate mechanisms for the formation of student government.

7.2 The administration of student government should gradually be trusted to the students themselves and advisory help be available in cases where it is demanded.

7.3 The mechanisms for channeling the grievances of students should be provided, perhaps through the creation of the ombudsman office and various judicial committees; yet, the boards of trustees should remain as the final court of appeal.

The implementation of these recommendations presents a major challenge to members of the academic community, the governance structures of universities, and the government. This report will have achieved one of its major purposes if it stimulates an examination of the possibilities for change which have been identified. The writer is confident that such critical examination of existing practices will lead more rapidly toward needed changes in the goals and governance of Iranian universities.

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